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BY

BEATRICE A. LEES

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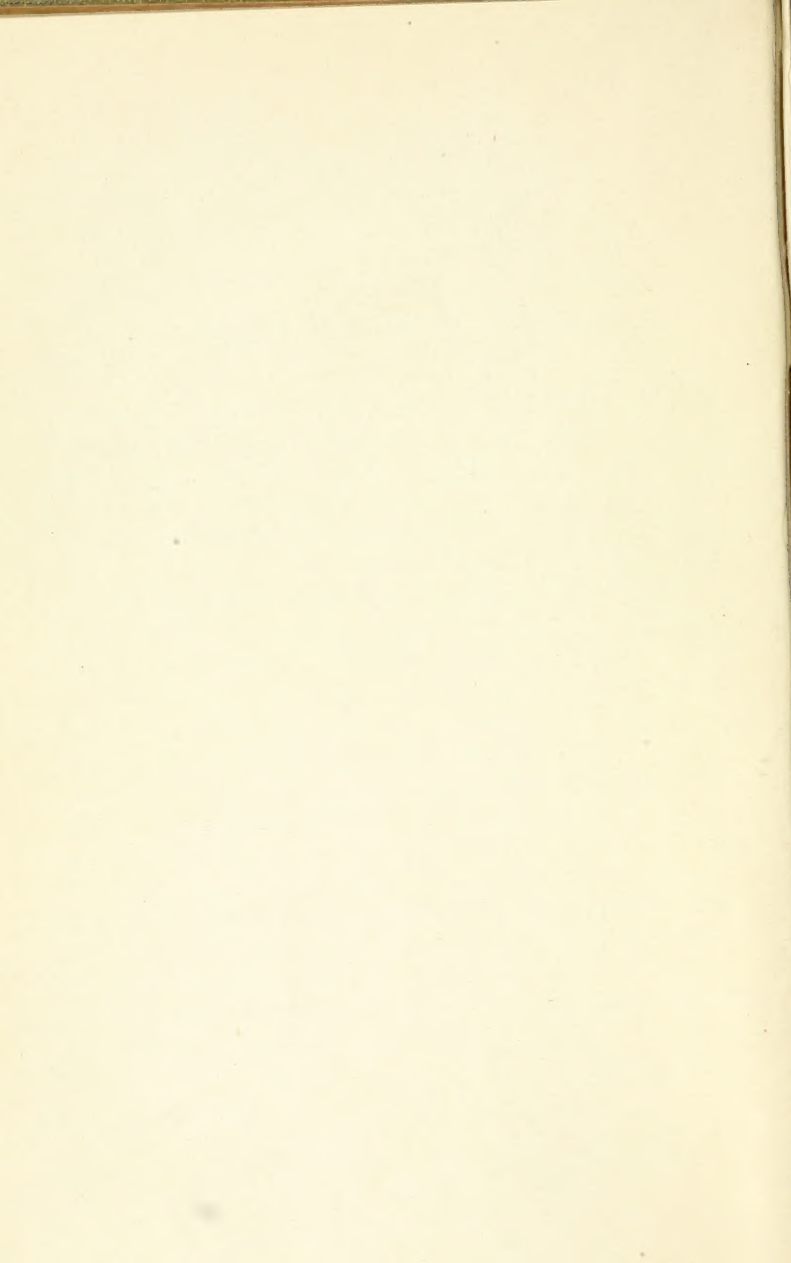
GENERAL PREFACE

IF this is the age of 'epochs' and 'periods' of history, it is also the age of historical monographs and biographies. The 'Heroes of the Nations' jostle the 'Story of the Nations' in friendly rivalry. The 'great man' theory is combined with the 'great movement' theory of historic development.

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B. A. LEES,
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE period covered by this little book has a historical unity of its own. It opens with the federation of the tribes of the 'Heptarchy' under a strong West-Saxon king, Alfred 'the truth-teller.' It closes with the administrative union of all classes in a representative Parliament under a great English ruler, Edward 'the troth-keeper.'

Between the two lie some four centuries of 'feudalism':—that is to say, a 'tribal' society, based upon personal relations, passes into a 'feudal' society, which rests on a basis of land-tenure, and this in turn gives place to a 'political' society, in which public duties are bound up with Parliamentary rights. The two powers which did most to help on this transition were undoubtedly the Kingship and the Church. Hence the prominence given to the biographies of kings and churchmen. The Church handed on the traditions of Roman Imperialism and Law in their Catholic dress. The Kingship alone was strong enough to give those traditions a living reality and a progressive interpretation. Meanwhile, beneath the shadow of Church and King, other forces came into play—the force of feudalism, developing, maturing, decaying; the forces of free thought, of commerce, of popular self-government, weak still and

inchoate at the close of the period, but with full promise of future healthy growth.

In this series of biographies the Kingship is seen in various phases of development. Alfred is the first truly English king, unifying the nation from within, as against the pressure of external invasion; William I. is the stranger king, unifying by conquest; Henry II. the reforming, progressive king, unifying by administrative measures; Edward I. the national king, unifying by legislative measures.

The Church, again, is represented in its various civilizing aspects by Dunstan, the first great 'ecclesiastical statesman'; by Anselm, the monk, the saint, and the theologian; by Becket, the champion of sacerdotalism and of the Papacy; and by Grosseteste, the popular reformer and teacher.

'Feudalism' is shown in its earlier stage in Godwine, and in its worst development in Robert of Belesme, while William the Marshal illustrates its nobler side, and marks the transition from the feudal noble proper to the ministerial noble, and in Simon de Montfort the nobility reaches its later position of constitutional leadership.

The three great spiritual and intellectual movements of the age—the Crusades, Monasticism, with its revival in the 'Coming of the Friars,' and the 'twelfth-century Renaissance' of learning, with its outcome, the organization of the University system, are touched on in the lives of Richard I., Giraldus Cambrensis, Adam Marsh, and Grosseteste.

Finally, some idea of the manner of social life in town and country may be gathered from the later biographies.

BEATRICE A. LEES.

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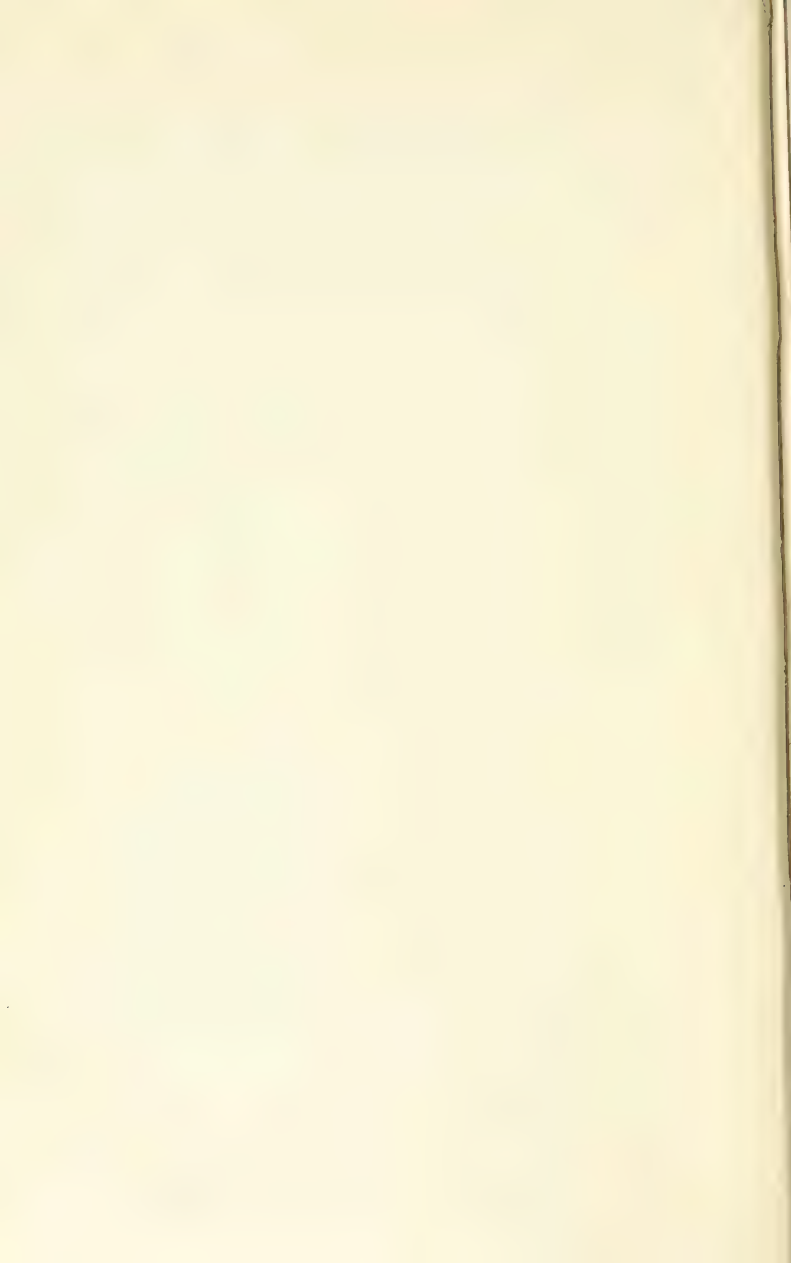
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ALFRED THE GREAT.

Statue at Winchester by Hamo Thornycroft, R.A.

HISTORY IN BIOGRAPHY

KING ALFRED THE GREAT.

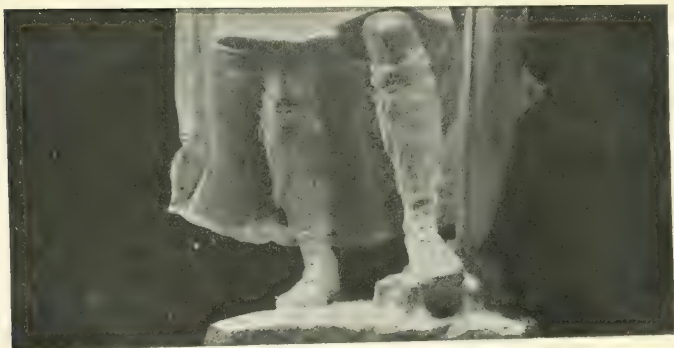
(848—889 or 900 [901 ?].)

existence with the lion and the mammoth. The shepherd grazes his flocks beside the green 'barrows,' or mound-tombs, of the men of the 'New Stone Age,' who fashioned implements of polished stone, and their successors of the 'Bronze Age,' who used weapons and vessels made from a mixture of tin and copper. These were the men who raised the mighty circle of Stonehenge, and the stone monuments of Cornwall and Ireland. The earthworks which they and the invaders from Gaul who followed in their wake formed for defence and shelter crown the English hills and uplands. The later Roman conquerors have left their



ERRATUM.

Pages 91, 212, and 218 (Table II.), death of Geoffrey of
Brittany: *for '1185' read '1186.'*



ALFRED THE GREAT.

Statue at Winchester by Hamo Thornycroft, R.A.

HISTORY IN BIOGRAPHY

KING ALFRED THE GREAT.

(848—889 or 900 [901 ?].)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, those remote islands in the Northern Ocean whose written history begins when the greatness of Greece had already passed away, and the Roman Empire was just rising to the height of its power, have an unwritten history, stamped deep upon the face of the land for those who have eyes to see. The quarryman brings to light the rude flint weapons of the men of the 'Old Stone Age,' the primæval inhabitants of Britain, who shared the struggle for existence with the lion and the mammoth. The shepherd grazes his flocks beside the green 'barrows,' or mound-tombs, of the men of the 'New Stone Age,' who fashioned implements of polished stone, and their successors of the 'Bronze Age,' who used weapons and vessels made from a mixture of tin and copper. These were the men who raised the mighty circle of Stonehenge, and the stone monuments of Cornwall and Ireland. The earthworks which they and the invaders from Gaul who followed in their wake formed for defence and shelter crown the English hills and uplands. The later Roman conquerors have left their

traces in ruined wall and mossy road and square, grass-grown camp. Deep below the surface of the ground, for the plough to turn up, or the modern builder to uncover, lie the tessellated pavements of Roman villas, the standards and tombstones of Roman troops, the coins and pottery of Roman social life.

When, in the middle of the fifth century A.D., the sea-kings of the far North—Jutes, Saxons, and Angles—came over the ‘broad billows’ to subdue and colonize the fertile British province, deserted by its Roman defenders, the people whom they conquered and among whom they settled were already mixed in race, in language, and in customs. Over the old ‘Iberian’ inhabitants had swept a wave of ‘Gaelic’ population, whose speech still lingers in the Highlands of Scotland, in Ireland, and in the Isle of Man. Over them, again, had swept the ‘Brythonic’ Celts, the ‘Ancient Britons’ whom Julius Cæsar saw and described, the ancestors of the modern Welsh. They knew the use of iron, practised agriculture, and dwelt in tribal communities under the rule of kings. They have left their records in armour and personal ornaments, coins and earth-works, legends and traditions. Their speech persists in Wales, and has not long perished from Cornwall. To them the conquering armies of Rome brought the knowledge of imperial government and law, of town-life and municipal organization, of military discipline, and, finally, of the Christian religion. Then on Romanized Britain fell the un-Romanized, heathen Germanic tribes. The Jutes settled in the South-east of Britain, the Angles won the East and North, the Saxons occupied the fertile South, and the Britons were pushed back into the mountainous West.

Then followed a period of strife amongst the con-

querors themselves, in the course of which their numerous little tribal settlements were gradually gathered into larger and larger groups, until by the end of the sixth century three great kingdoms emerged: Northumbria, north of Humber; Mercia, between Humber and Thames; and Wessex, south of Thames. For two centuries more these three great powers carried on their struggle, using the smaller kingdoms, which still preserved a semi-independence, as pawns in the game, until Egbert, King of the West-Saxons, succeeded in uniting the whole land from the Channel to the Forth, from the German Ocean to the Irish Sea, under his supremacy, as 'King of the English' (*rex Anglorum*). But his ill-consolidated dominions fell apart on his death in 839, and his son Ethelwulf was king only of 'the West-Saxons and the men of Kent,' with Surrey, Sussex, and Essex. It was near the northern boundary of Ethelwulf's kingdom that his fourth son, Alfred, was born in 848, under the shadow of the Berkshire Downs, where now his statue looks down upon the market-place of the little town of Wantage.

The second half of the ninth century, which covered Alfred's life, was a critical period in the development of the English nation. Even within Wessex, Kent retained some measure of independence. The under-kingdom of the East-Anglians (*Norfolk and Suffolk*) was restless under its Mercian overlord, and beyond the Humber the wild Northumbrian kingdom was bordered by the still wilder lands of Picts and Scots, while in the West the remnants of the ancient British race still held the kingdoms of Strathclyde and of the North Welsh (*Wales*). The West-Saxon ruler was vaguely recognised as overlord, or chief king, among these petty princes, but his supremacy was merely nominal, and Ethelwulf

was fully occupied in defending his own territory. For already to the dangers of internal dissension were added those of external invasion. Already the coast of Kent was beset by the long dark boats of Danes and Northmen, the Wickings, the fierce heathen sea-rovers who swarmed forth from the Scandinavian lands beyond the North Sea to plunder and settle in the fruitful South. One of Alfred's first faint, dreamlike recollections must have been of the sacking and burning of London and Canterbury, and of the great fight in which his father and elder brother defeated the hosts of the invaders at Ockley, in Surrey, where men speak of the slaughter of the Danes to this day. Deliverance from these pirate hordes, and the union under one strong ruler of the rival English kingdoms, were the two pressing needs of the time. It is because Alfred's life was devoted to securing peace and unity for his country that he is still honoured as one of the true makers of England.

The stories that have come down to us of the great king's early years show him as a bright, pretty, active boy, loving field-sports, yet full of desire for knowledge, delighting in the old songs and ballads of the West-Saxons, and winning an illuminated manuscript book of Saxon poems which his mother had promised to the child who could first read it aloud to her. There was much in his childhood to rouse him to thoughtful self-reliance, and to train him for his future life. While still very young he visited Rome, and saw the Pope ruling Western Christendom from his Court in the great city, full of memories of the former masters of the world. Then, when he was ten years old, came his father's death, followed by the deaths of his two elder brothers, Ethelbald and Ethelbert, who reigned in quick succes-

sion. On the accession of his third brother, Ethelred, he was closely associated in the government of the kingdom as second to the king (*secundarius*), and the serious work of his life began.

The Danes had withdrawn for awhile from the South, and were harrying Northumbria and Eastern England, but the West-Saxons were only allowed a short breathing-space. The year 871 saw a Danish host encamped at Reading, in the valley of the Thames, and Ethelred and Alfred fighting at the head of their people for life and home and country. The Danes beat off the Saxons from their camp at Reading, only to be dislodged, a few days later, from a strong position on the crest of the Downs, in the famous battle of Ashdown. Asser, Alfred's biographer, tells how Alfred charged with his men up the hill 'like a wild boar,' while Ethelred, setting 'God's service before that of man,' refused to lead his troops to his brother's help till the Mass which he was hearing in his tent was finished. A solitary thorn-tree, round which the battle raged, long marked the place of the West-Saxon victory—a victory all the more vividly remembered because it was followed by defeat after defeat. In the midst of the struggle Ethelred died, and Alfred was called to the throne. Reluctantly enough he took up the burden of his new dignity, and before the year was out he found himself compelled to consent to an inglorious truce. The Danes retired for a brief season to their northern camp, but only to gather strength for renewed incursions. In 874 they fell upon Mercia, drove its king over the sea, and harried Northumbria. In 875 a force under the bold Wicking Guthrum attacked the West-Saxon kingdom from the South. Failing to drive the invaders from their camp at Wareham, in

Dorsetshire, Alfred bought peace, while the Northmen swore their most solemn oath, on the 'holy ring,' to leave the country. But they merely rode to Exeter, where they spent the winter of 876, and Alfred had to blockade them by sea and land before they surrendered in 877, with many fresh promises—a prelude to fresh treachery.



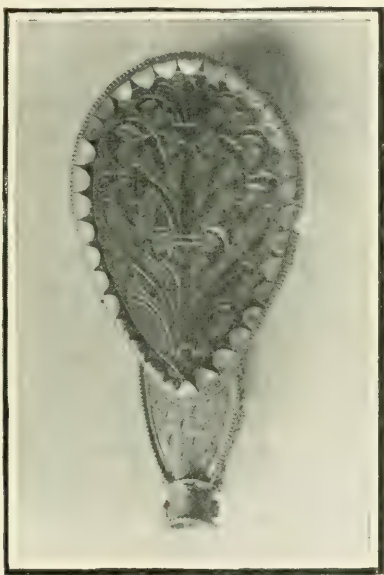
T. Kereley, Wantage.

THE ALFRED JEWEL (OBVERSE).

Early in 878, in mid-winter, a Danish host stole into Wiltshire, and overran the land of the West-Saxons before an army could be gathered to meet them. 'They drove many of the folk oversea,' says the contemporary Winchester Chronicle, 'and of the rest, the more part they reduced, and they submitted, save

King Alfred. He, with a little band, withdrew to the woods and the fastnesses of the moors.'

This was the time when Alfred's fortunes seemed at the lowest ebb, yet his courage and hopefulness did not forsake him. With a few faithful followers he took refuge among the marshes and fens of Somersetshire, and raised a fort at Athelney, the 'Isle of Princes'



T. Rowley, Wantage.

THE ALFRED JEWEL (REVERSE).

(*Æthelingga cige*), between the rivers Tone and Parret, whence he and his 'little band' could make raids upon the enemy. It was near Athelney that the 'Alfred jewel' was found in the seventeenth century, with the words 'Alfred ordered me to be made' (*Ælfred mec heht gecwercan*) wrought into its golden setting.

But the tide of fortune was turning. A body of Danes, under a leader called Ubba, who had made an inroad on the coast of Devonshire, were defeated by the men of Devon, with the loss of their magic banner, the 'Raven,' which Ubba's three sisters had woven in one morning with such strange skill that when the troops marched to victory the raven on the silken flag seemed to be flying with outstretched wings, while if defeat were in store, it hung limp and motionless.

Then, in the spring of the year, when Easter was past, Alfred came forth from his retreat, and there gathered to him all the men of Somersetshire and Wiltshire and Hampshire, and they welcomed him as one risen from the dead, and they fought against Guthrum and his host at Æthandun in Wiltshire, and drove them into their camp, and there besieged them for fourteen days, till they submitted, and gave hostages, and swore oaths that they would depart out of the kingdom. Guthrum, moreover, received Christian baptism at Aller, near Athelney, and Alfred was his godfather, and entertained him in his royal house at Wedmore, and honoured him with gifts.

After this, many of the Danes went oversea, but Guthrum-Athelstan settled in Eastern England, and left to Alfred the land south of Thames and the western half of Mercia. Bernicia, too, the part of Northumbria beyond the Tees, retained its English king, but all the rest of England was held by the Danes, and was known as the Danelaw, the country under Danish law. There were three kingdoms, or settlements, in the Danelaw: Danish Northumbria, from Tees to Humber; Danish Mercia, or the country of the Five Boroughs, from Humber to Wash; and Guthrum's kingdom, from Wash to Thames. Yet,

strong as the Danes still were, the agreement of 878 between Alfred and Guthrum, the Treaty of Chippenham or Wedmore, marks the turning-point in the fortunes of the West-Saxons. The first part of Alfred's work was now practically done, and he was free to turn to the task of restoring order and unity to his kingdom.

First, he provided for its military efficiency. The West-Saxons had no regular army, but every freeman was bound to serve in defence of his country for a certain number of days in each year. The infantry force thus gathered, called the 'fyrd,' because the soldiers 'fared' forth to battle, was ill-armed, slow in getting into action, and apt to melt away when the term of service was over, and the soldiers went home to till their fields and reap the harvest. It was peculiarly unfitted to cope with the Danes, who were well equipped, well disciplined, and very quick in movement. They would sail up a river, throw up an earthwork for protection, seize horses, plunder the countryside, and ride back into camp before the clumsy English host could be set in motion. Alfred remedied this by dividing the 'fyrd' into two, and calling only one division into the field at a time, thus making the force more manageable, and leaving men at home to cultivate the soil. He further organized a compact, well-armed body of mounted infantry from the 'thegns,'* or country gentry, men trained to arms, who would be always ready for service.

He strengthened the fortifications of Wessex, too, and set men to guard them, and he built 'long ships' to keep the coast against the Wickings. The good effects of these preparations were seen when in 885 a

* Pronounced *thanes*.

Wicking host besieged Rochester, and was held at bay by the citizen garrison till Alfred brought up the 'fyrd.' The Danes of Guthrum's kingdom forgot their promises and gave help to the invaders, but after a sharp struggle Alfred subdued them once more, and made a fresh treaty with Guthrum-Athelstan, in which London and Middlesex were probably ceded to the West-Saxons.

The land now had rest for seven years (886 to 893), and it is here that Asser, in his Latin 'Life of Alfred,' tells us of the king's daily work, and of his good rule, and of all that he did for his people's welfare.

The flood of Danish invasion had swept away the churches and monasteries, the books and the treasures, of England. 'Learning was clean decayed among English folk.' Latin, the language of the church services, was almost forgotten. The men of Wessex seemed to have lost heart, and to have grown selfish and careless. The clergy were indolent and self-indulgent, the officers of justice were corrupt, the poor had scarce any to help them save the king alone. Alfred was determined to rouse his subjects to a sense of public duty. Unjust or ignorant judges he dismissed, or forced to study the laws which they were called on to declare in the courts of justice. These laws, the ancient customs of the West-Saxons, the Mercians, and the men of Kent, he caused to be gathered together and set down in writing. He built new monasteries, and brought scholars and monks, both English and foreign, into Wessex, to revive learning and religious zeal.

But his chief hope lay in the education of his people. Himself a tireless reader and student, he dreamt of a time when all freeborn Englishmen who had sufficient means to spare time for learning should be able to read

naurywa.

AFTER DAM DEROME
BVRHGETIM BRATORS
III. HUND PINTRA. 7 LU. ON PA
dazum þe gallie nome aþe t hædon. þa geƿaƿd
ƿeo mæte ƿibb. 7 ƿeo byrmon leaƿte. be tƿi hla
demonium cƿealonde. 7 ƿeƿum æfter þam de
lece demonie. hædon ƿeƿe of t oƿe ƿunnen. þa
gebudon him ƿeƿe þæt he hædon. III. ƿintre ƿibbe ƿið
hæt ƿe þæt ƿolde; 7 ƿe þæt nolde. þæt he ƿolde þa mid ge
ƿeohte geƿeacan; hæt þa lece demonie. tuftlice þæt he
ƿibbe hæt ƿumedon. ƿor þam lýtlan ge. þæt he him mon
gebead. on þan mon mæg ſƿutole on enaƿan. him mý
celne ƿillan. hæt þam geƿinne hædon. ſƿa heora

(From King Alfred's 'Orosius,' Cotton MS., British Museum)

side by side with the son of the noble and the child of the simple freeman. But the knowledge of Latin was confined to the few, and English books were rare. Alfred then set about translating from Latin into the language which all could understand 'some books

which are most needful for all men to know': St. Gregory's 'Pastoral Care,' Boethius on the 'Consolation of Philosophy,' the 'Universal History of Orosius,' and Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People.' The wise king thought it 'needful' for all Englishmen to know the history of England, that they might be stirred to live as befitted the sons of brave and God-fearing fathers.

With this same purpose he turned to a new task. As he had gathered together the old laws and customs of England, so now he collected the old traditions and records of England's past, up to his own day, and caused them to be written down in the English tongue. Thus was begun the famous English Chronicle, which was carried on after Alfred's death in the monastery at Winchester, and copied and added to in other religious houses.

We learn much of Alfred's reign from the Chronicle, but the best picture of the king himself is painted for us by his friend and companion, Asser, the Welsh Bishop of Sherborne. In his little book we see Alfred as an eager, restless man, full of interest in all sides of life, turning from the labours of government or devout attendance on church services to the superintendence of builders and goldsmiths, to the pleasures of hunting, or to the care of dogs and hawks. We see him reading, listening, questioning, learning by heart, jotting down anything that strikes him in a 'handbook,' orderly, methodical, pious, charitable, sympathetic. We hear how he measured time by candles of equal length and weight, each of which burnt for four hours, when protected by a lantern of wood and horn. We read of his intercourse with the Pope and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Chronicle tells how he even sent alms to the Christians of far-off India.

The period of peaceful activity was broken by a fresh storm of war in 893, when the Northmen came again under the sea-king Hæsten, and the Danes of the Danelaw rose in their support. For four years there was constant fighting. The Danes were defeated at Buttington in the Severn Valley; they were driven out of the ruined city of Chester; their fleet was blocked up in the river Lea, north of London, and they were forced to abandon their ships. At last, in 897, they finally withdrew from England, while the pirates who still infested the coast were beaten off by Alfred's new ships, longer, swifter, steadier, and higher than the Danish boats, each with sixty oars or more. 'Thanks be to God,' says the Chronicle, 'the Danish army had not utterly broken down the English people.' The English triumph was complete; but Alfred had spent himself in the service of his country, and the brief record of his death follows close upon the chronicler's stirring account of his latest victories.

Alfred died, but in his people's memory he still lived on. To them he was 'the wise king,' 'the truth-teller,' the protector of the poor. Round the story of his life grew up fond, homely legends, many of them clustering about the weary months when he was a fugitive at Athelney. Men told how he took refuge in a herdsman's hut, and was scolded for letting the cakes burn which the herdsman's wife had bidden him watch. They described how, disguised as a minstrel, he found his way into the Danish camp and learnt the plans of his enemies. They made St. Cuthbert visit him at Athelney, and cause a great draught of fishes to be taken from a frozen river. Later on, Alfred was credited with all that was good in English government. It was said that he hung up golden bracelets at cross-roads, which none durst steal, so stern was the king's justice. He was

called the founder of trial by jury, of the English shire-divisions, of the Old-English police system. He became, too, a sort of English Solomon to the common people, and the current sayings of the countryside were collected as the 'Proverbs of Alfred,' 'England's darling,' 'England's shepherd,' 'England's comforter.' Later still, he was regarded as the founder or restorer of the University of Oxford, and in the seventeenth century he, alone among English monarchs, came to be known as 'Alfred the Great.'

When, in the January of 1901, electric wires were flashing through the British Empire the message that the Queen-Empress Victoria had passed away, few probably recalled how, some thousand years earlier, a monk in a Winchester cloister was writing in the English Chronicle the simple words: 'Here departed Alfred, the son of Ethelwulf.'

A world of change separates those days from ours, yet there is real fellowship between the king who wrote, 'I have desired to leave to the men who come after me my memory in good works,' and the Queen who 'wrought her people lasting good.'

From Alfred's own Additions to his Translation of Boethius.

THE EXAMPLE OF GREAT MEN.—Why will you not inquire after the wise men and those that desired honour, what manner of men they were that were before you? And why will you not, when you have inquired concerning their manner of life, copy them with all your might? For they strove after honour in this world, and laboured to win good report with good works, and wrought a goodly example for those who came after.

ST. DUNSTAN, THE HOLY ARCHBISHOP.

(924 or 925—988.)

THE Danish wars and the consolidating policy of Edward the Elder had done much to weld into one people the Angles and Saxons south of Humber. But no true national unity can be won by common laws and government alone, without common hopes and aims and interests.

Alfred had tried to create a national feeling by leading Englishmen to realize that they were all sharers in the memories of England's past, and fellow-workers for England's future. If his children inherited his military and administrative schemes, the heirs of this, his nobler educational work, were monks and churchmen.

The Church stands beside the Kingship as one of the two great civilizing forces which went to build up the English nation, and foremost among English patriot-churchmen must be placed the devoted teacher and statesmanlike leader, St. Dunstan of Canterbury.

Dunstan, 'God's boy' (*puer Dei*), as his biographer calls him, came of a noble West-Saxon family. Born in the year of the accession of Alfred's grandson Athelstan, he was brought up in that Somersetshire fenland which Alfred had rendered famous, and where, no doubt, stories of Athelney and Æthandun, of Chippen-

ham and Wedmore, were still told over the winter fire. To these patriotic tales would be added pious legends of the saints, when the little Dunstan visited Glastonbury, and saw the church 'raised by no earthly hands,' or pored over the books of his teachers, pilgrims from Ireland, in the monastic school. Love of God and love of country, the master passions of his later life, thus early possessed his childish heart.

Of slight, fragile build, and excitable, sensitive nature, Dunstan, with his quick intelligence and retentive memory, soon equalled his masters and surpassed his companions in knowledge, till his health broke down under the strain, and visions of angels and demons began to haunt his feverish dreams. From Glastonbury he passed to the Court of Athelstan, to be trained with other young nobles in the royal palace. The king who, as a child, had been girt by Alfred's own hands with sword and jewelled belt, was not unworthy of his descent. A conqueror, a law-giver, and a statesman, his alliance was sought by foreign rulers. He subdued Danish Northumbria, and forced the Welsh princes to own his overlordship, and his reign was crowned by the great victory of Brunanburh, when a league of Northumbrian and Irish Danes, Strathclyde Britons and Scots, was broken by the West-Saxon sword, and, as the Chronicle sings, 'Athelstan king' and his brother Edmund won 'age-long glory' in the fight.

Under such influences Dunstan grew up grave and serious-minded, turning from childish games to listen to the talk of his elders, dreaming of the joys of heaven, yet delighting in the beauty of earth, loving the old songs of his country, and soothing the careworn king, like another David, with his harp. So high, indeed, did he stand in Athelstan's favour, that the jealousy of

the other young courtiers was roused. They accused him falsely to the king, and procured his expulsion from the Court. Dunstan now turned to the peaceful life of the cloister. He became a monk, and passed quiet days of prayer and toil in his tiny cell at Glastonbury, painting, illuminating, carving, and working in metal. It was while he was busy at his forge, says an eleventh-century tradition, that the devil looked in at the window, and was caught by the nose by Dunstan's red-hot pincers. A prettier legend, of earlier origin, shows him in the hall of a noble matron, designing an embroidered stole, with the maidens of the household gathered about him, while his harp, hanging on the wall, as if struck by an invisible hand, gives forth strains of angelic music.

On the death of Athelstan in 940, and the accession of his brother Edmund, Dunstan was recalled to Court, only again to be driven out by his jealous rivals. Then, runs the story, as Edmund hunted on the Mendip Hills, the stag and hounds rushed wildly over the steep Cheddar cliffs, and the king's horse only checked itself on the verge of the precipice. Full of gratitude for his escape, and of remorse for his former injustice, Edmund sought out Dunstan, bade him ride with him to Glastonbury, and there installed him in the abbot's chair.

Not long afterwards, in 946, Edmund fell by the hand of an outlaw. He had won the name of 'the deed-doer' by bravely and patiently carrying on the struggle with the Danelaw, by conquering Strathclyde or Cumbria, and by gaining the friendship of Malcolm, the new king of Scots. Under Edred, his brother and successor, the Danelaw, after renewed revolts, was finally subdued, and Danish Northumbria was reduced from an under-kingdom to an earldom.

The nine years of Edred's reign were for Dunstan a period of great influence and activity. He was high in favour with the king, and with Edred's trusted advisers, his mother Eadgifu, widow of Edward the Elder, and Athelstan, ealdorman of East-Anglia, called for his power the 'half-king.' The royal treasure was entrusted to his care, and, like the later Chancellors, he was employed to draw up charters and documents for the king. One such charter, professing to be written by Dunstan's own hand, and signed 'Dunstan, the unworthy abbot' (*Dunstanus, indignus abbas*), is still preserved at Canterbury.

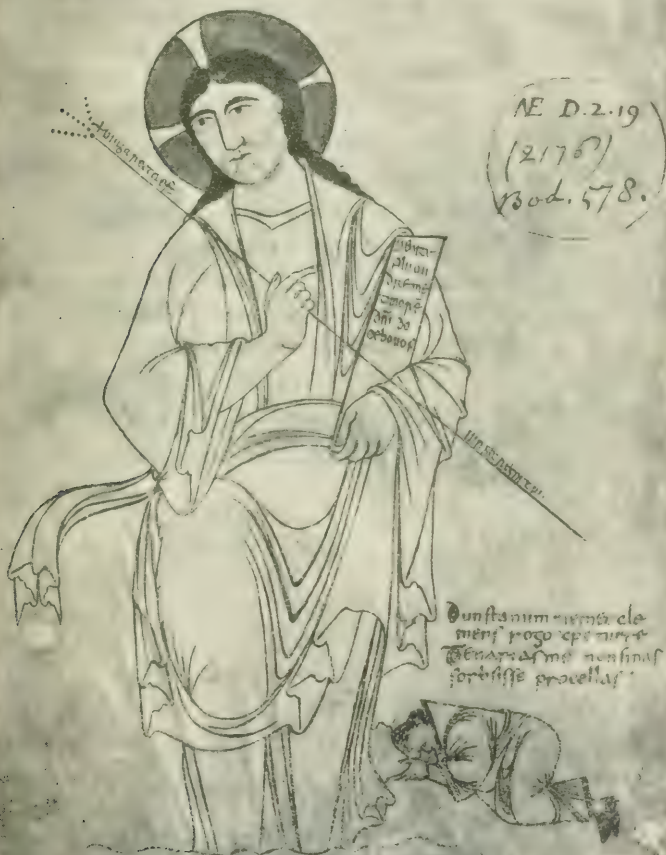
But his chief work was educational. His appointment as abbot had opened to him a wide field of usefulness as an organizer, a builder, and a teacher. The literary zeal of Alfred's day revived in the abbey school of Glastonbury, and in the no less famous school which Dunstan's pupil, Æthelwold, founded at Abingdon. It was perhaps at this time that Dunstan drew the interesting picture of himself as a monk at the feet of Christ, which may still be seen in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

But Edred's death brought changes. As Dunstan rode to the king's sick-bed at Frome, he heard a voice from heaven cry, 'Behold, King Edred has fallen asleep in the Lord.' Coming to the palace, he found the dead king lying deserted, while the fickle courtiers flocked to welcome his successor, Edwy, the young son of his brother Edmund.

With the accession of Edwy, the new danger which was henceforth to threaten the national unity of England became apparent. In subduing the Danes, the English king had raised up a rival to his own power in the great nobles, the thegns and ealdormen,

Pictura et scriptura huius pagine subius
uisa est de propria manu sū dunstani.

Alley D.D.



Rischgitz Collection.

ST. DUNSTAN AT THE FEET OF CHRIST.
(From a MS. in the Bodleian Library.)

on whom he was forced to rely, first for military help, and then for help in the government of the reconquered provinces.

The early kings had been able to keep fairly good order and to do justice in person, riding about their little kingdom as a steward rides round an estate. But when the Danelaw was added to Wessex, this was no longer possible. 'I desired,' wrote King Alfred, 'tools and material for the work I was set to do, which was that I should virtuously and fittingly conduct and administer the government entrusted to me.' The only 'tools' which Alfred's descendants found ready to their hands in the work of government were the great landholders, the nobles, for the clergy were not yet trained to rule, and the poorer freemen had lost their spirit of independence and self-reliance during the long wars. Even Alfred had committed Mercia to the care of Ethelred, while Edred placed an earl over Northumbria, and the 'half-king' Athelstan governed East-Anglia.

On Edred's death, the drawbacks of trusting power to these great nobles appeared. Under a boy-king, they usurped almost royal authority. England was divided between two parties: the party of the queen-mother Eadgifu, of Athelstan the 'half-king,' and of Dunstan on the one hand; and on the other, the party of the young king and the West-Saxon nobles, kinsmen of the royal house, chief among them Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia. The king's party prevailed. Eadgifu was despoiled of her property, Athelstan retired to a monastery, and Dunstan, after offending the king at the coronation feast, was outlawed and driven from England, to find a refuge in Flanders.

His exile was brief. The king's party was divided

against itself. The people north of Thames rose against Edwy, and made his younger brother Edgar king, and one of Edgar's first acts was to recall Dunstan, and to create him Bishop, first of Worcester and then of London.

For a short space England had two kings, but in 959 Edwy died, and the kingdom was reunited under Edgar. Dunstan was now made Archbishop of Canterbury, and became the king's chief counsellor. Peace and justice were the keynotes of the new reign. At Edgar's birth Dunstan is said to have heard the angels proclaiming peace to England while the child reigned and Dunstan lived. The Chronicle echoes the same strain : 'God granted to him that he should live in peace the while that he lived.' 'He bettered the people's peace most of the kings that were before him.' King and archbishop worked as one for the good of England. 'The archbishop's wisdom taught justice to the king ; the king's justice won the mercy of God ; and God's mercy gave abundance of all good things to the people.'

We read of Edgar's progresses by land and sea, to see that justice was done and that the coasts were freed from pirates. We still have the good laws that were put forth in his name for rich and poor alike, and the songs that were written in praise of the 'beautiful and winsome' prince, 'West-Saxons' joy and protector of Mercians,' and behind the small, slight figure of the king, with its restless vigour, we seem to see the spare, worn form of the archbishop, guiding, restraining, setting before Edgar that ideal of kingly duty which he afterwards put into words for the instruction of Edgar's unworthy son : 'Ah, dear lord, take diligent heed to thyself . . . the duty of a hallowed king is that he judge no man unrighteously, and that he defend and

protect widows and orphans and strangers; that he forbid thefts . . . feed the needy with alms, and have old and wise and sober men for counsellors, and set righteous men for stewards.'

The measures by which Edgar and Dunstan sought to enforce peace were thoroughly practical. They knew that the best way of helping people is to teach them to help themselves. They would have all men feel themselves concerned in the good order of the country. Every man must have a surety, who should be responsible for him to the courts of justice. Those courts were to be held regularly, and the ordinary free-men were to attend them as well as the thegns and ealdormen. A counterpoise to the power of the great nobles was sought in the influence of the great churchmen, and the king was more zealous even than the archbishop in the work of church reform. A stricter rule of life was introduced into the English monasteries, new religious houses were founded, and Æthelwold, Dunstan's pupil, now Bishop of Winchester, won for his zeal in this cause the title of 'father of monks.'

Hand-in-hand with this work of organization went the work of education. The clergy, themselves trained under the influence of the monastic and literary revival, were to be in the forefront of the battle against ignorance and idleness. Every priest was to learn a craft, that he might teach it to others. No learned priest was to reproach him that was less learned, but amend him, if he knew how. The people were to be instructed by sermons, and the clergy were to set a good example by refraining from hunting, hawking, dice-playing, and drinking. Dunstan, one chronicler tells us, had pegs fixed in drinking-cups, to keep men from heedlessly drinking to excess.

The coronation of Edgar at Bath in 973, by the two archbishops, may be taken as marking a solemn recognition of England's completed unity. With it may be connected the story of the eight kings who rowed Edgar on the Dee, while he steered with a golden rudder, and the imperial titles which are given to him :

' He ruled the land as emperor ;
For never, since King Arthur's day,
Was king who held such potent sway.'

But his work seemed to have been done only to be undone. ' The Hallowing of the King ' is celebrated in the Chronicle by a ballad. The next entry, in 975, is also in verse—a lament for the king's death :

' Here ended earth's joys
Edgar, of Angles king.'

With Edgar's death, indeed, evil days came to England. ' After Edgar's day,' we are told, ' Christ's law declined, and the king's law vanished.' Again, as in Edwy's time, the king was too weak to check the party divisions of the nobles, for Edward, Edgar's eldest son, was ' a child unwaxen.' Once more the spirit of disunion revived. Once more there were two parties, each with a young prince as centre and puppet: the party of centralization—Dunstan, Oswald, Archbishop of York, and Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia—who carried out Edgar's will, and crowned Edward; and the party of decentralization—the West-Saxon nobles, led by Æthelwine, ealdorman of East-Anglia, son of the ' half-king,' and by Edgar's widow Ælfthrith, Edward's stepmother. These put forward Edgar's younger son, Ethelred, Edward's half-brother, as a candidate for the throne. In 978 Edward died, murdered, later writers declared, by his stepmother's

orders. 'Never,' sighs the chronicler, 'was a worse deed done among English folk since first they sought the land of the Britons.' The two archbishops crowned the ten-year-old Ethelred, and took from him the coronation-oath to protect the Church, to forbid robbery and unrighteousness, and to enjoin justice and mercy. But Dunstan must have known that there was small hope that such a promise would be kept by a boy-king, the tool of a self-seeking party. He is said, indeed, to have prophesied at the coronation that the sword would never depart out of the blood-stained house of Ethelred, and he seems now to have withdrawn from public life, and to have spent his last days in retirement. We have a pleasant picture of him in his old age, surrounded by friends and pupils, leading a life of study, discipline, and charity, rising with earliest dawn to correct faulty manuscripts, working at the bells and organs which were long treasured in the English monasteries as specimens of his skill, preaching eloquent sermons, celebrating the sacred Offices with tears of devotion, writing, teaching, judging between man and man, in all things fulfilling the duties of a good shepherd to his flock, yet amidst the cares of the world preserving a spirit of mystic fervour, seeing heavenly visions, and hearing heavenly harmonies.

His death came in 988. On Ascension Day he celebrated Mass as usual, preaching as he had never preached before, speaking words of hope and love, till his people, as he blessed them, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel, and knew, even before he bade them farewell, that he would not be long with them. Two days later he passed to his rest, murmuring the words of the 111th Psalm: 'The merciful and gracious Lord hath so done His marvellous works

that they ought to be had in remembrance.' 'Oh, most happy,' says his biographer, 'whom the Lord findeth thus watching!'

Weeping crowds followed him to his grave at Canterbury, calling aloud on their 'dearest father.' Miracles were wrought at his tomb. He received canonization from the Pope, and for long the 'holy archbishop' was the favourite saint of the English people.

The true history of St. Dunstan, like that of King Alfred, has been obscured by an aftergrowth of legend. In the pages of his monkish biographers he walks through a dream-world of wonders, where nothing is impossible. The devil tempts him in the form of a bear, a fox, or a dog; he is supernaturally warned of the deaths of his friends; he sees the soul of one of his little pupils borne to heaven by angels, or saves King Edwy's soul by his prayers from the demons who are carrying it off. He works miracles, preventing a beam from falling by the sign of the cross, or striking water from a rock. He has visions of heaven, and is taught an anthem by angels. Bright-winged doves appear to him, unearthly voices speak to him. When he lies dying his bed is raised from the ground by invisible hands. After his death, he gives sight to the blind and health to the sick, and saves the Canterbury schoolboys from a whipping when they cry to their 'sweetest father Dunstan.'

Stories such as these are told of all the saints of the early Church, but, extravagant as many of them are, they reflect the thought and belief of Dunstan's own age or of the generations that came after him, and they reflect also the character of the saint himself. Through them all shines, like a sunbeam through mist, the light of a good man's deeds, the brightness of the tender,

gentle, loving, artistic nature of the great churchman-statesman of whom it is written that he was 'fair of form and eloquent of tongue, keen in mind, tenacious of memory, assiduous in study, skilled in handicrafts, accomplished in learning, discreet in business, foreseeing in prophecy, marvellous in miracle-working.'



GODWINE, THE 'EARL OF HAPPY MEMORY.'

(*Died 1053.*)

GODWINE, the king-maker and the father of kings, owed his own rise to fortune to royal favour. One of the English chroniclers makes him the son of 'Child Wulfnoth,' a South-Saxon thegn. A Norman writer says that his father was a cowherd. A Scandinavian saga tells how the Danish earl Ulf took shelter in the homestead of the Ceorl Wulfnoth, and, won by the beauty and intelligence of the young Godwine, Wulfnoth's son, gave him his sister to wife, and introduced him to the notice of Cnut. More authentic history simply notes that when the chances of war had given the English kingdom to Cnut, among the 'new princes' of the realm Godwine was proved most prudent in counsel and most valiant in war.

The period between the death of Edgar and the coming of the Normans was, indeed, one of those troubled times of change and revolution in which men of ability find their opportunity. The disorder of the reign of Ethelred the Unready had shown how pressing was the danger from the overweening ambition of the great ealdormen and thegns. To check this evil, Ethelred had tried reducing the number of ealdor-

manries, and giving those that remained to his own nominees, men without powerful local or family connections. Cnut carried on this policy. He divided England into four provinces. One, the ancient West-Saxon kingdom, he kept in his own hands; the others, Northumbria, Mercia, and East-Anglia, he granted to 'earls,' a Danish title which now superseded the English 'ealdorman.'

It soon became clear that under the strong rule of Cnut these earls would be, not independent princes, but royal deputies and ministers, appointed and dismissed at the king's will. The king was, in actual fact, supreme in his realm, and at the king's right hand stood his English favourite, Godwine.

Eloquent in speech, with the winning charm of manner and the unflagging industry of a born leader of men, Godwine soon made himself indispensable to Cnut, and became his trusted adviser. Wealth and honours poured in upon him. His estates extended into every shire of Central and Southern England. He married Gytha, sister of Earl Ulf, Cnut's brother-in-law,* and he was finally entrusted with the government of the king's special province, the old kingdom of Wessex, with Kent and Sussex. The power and dignity of Western civilization, the splendour of the Catholic Church, the beauty of the Christian ideal of conduct, appealed strongly to Cnut, true Northman as he was, with all the imaginative vigour, the supple adaptability, and the administrative genius of his race. He thoroughly identified himself with the West-Saxon kingship, and followed the best traditions of the West-Saxon line, the maintenance of a strong centralized monarchy resting on the support of the Church and

* See Table I. (III.).

opposed to the selfish ambitions of the lay nobles. If he dreamt further of an Anglo-Scandinavian Empire, stretching from the Irish Sea to the Baltic, and governed from Winchester, his schemes were shattered on his death in 1035, when the kingdoms which he had united once more fell apart.

Sweyn, Cnut's eldest son, succeeded him in Norway. Harthacnut, his son by Ethelred's widow, Ælfgifu or Emma, had Denmark. In England, when the Witan met at Oxford to choose their king, there was division of opinion. A powerful northern party, led by Earl Leofric of Mercia, and supported by the 'lithsmen,' or sailors of London, the standing naval force, favoured Harold, a son of Cnut by an English mother. Cnut himself had wished Harthacnut to be his successor, and Godwine, the true heir of Cnut's policy, did his utmost to carry out his master's will. But the old rivalry between Northern and Southern England reappeared. The Witan chose Harold 'to hold all England for himself and his brother Harthacnut, who was in Denmark.' This may only mean that Harold was to be regent till Harthacnut arrived; but in any case it gave too much power to the northern party, and did not satisfy Godwine, who withdrew with Ælfgifu-Emma to Winchester, where, with the royal body-guard of 'housecarls' which Cnut had introduced into England, they prepared to hold Wessex for Harthacnut.

Now befell an event which cast its shadow over Godwine's whole future life. The sons of Ælfgifu-Emma and Ethelred the Unready, the 'æthelings,' or princes, Edward and Alfred, were living amongst their mother's kinsmen in Normandy. In 1036 Alfred landed in England, with a band of followers. On his way to visit his mother at Winchester he was seized, blinded,

and sent to the monastery of Ely, where he died. His companions were sold, tortured, or put to death with great cruelty. Later accounts of this outrage threw the blame on Harold, on Harold in concert with Godwine, or even on Ælfifu-Emma, but the popular belief of the time, a belief embodied in one version of



JANUARY. PLOUGHING AND SOWING.

(*The Old-English Calendar. Eleventh Century. Cotton MS., Brit. Mus.*)

the Chronicle in ballad form, made Godwine primarily responsible for the crime.

' And Godwine then him let (*hindered*),
And him in prison set,
His comrades he dispersed,
And some of them he slew ;

* * * *

Never has bloodier deed
Been done upon this earth
Since hither came the Danes.'

Whether innocent or guilty, Godwine never succeeded in freeing himself from suspicion. He certainly had some temptation to get rid of a possible new candidate for the throne which he was struggling to hold for Harthacnut. That struggle ended shortly after Alfred's murder. Early in 1037 'men chose Harold to be king over all, and forsook Harthacnut, for that he was too long in Denmark.' Harold had seized the 'hoard,' or royal treasure, at Winchester, and now he drove his mother 'Ælfifu the queen' out of England—'without any mercy,' says the chronicler.

She took refuge with Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and as Godwine did not share her exile, he must have acquiesced in the new order. But in 1040 Harold died, and the Witan offered the English crown to Harthacnut, who had joined Ælfgifu-Emma at Bruges, and was preparing to invade England.

The new king and his mother returned, escorted by a fleet of sixty ships, to be welcomed by all parties. But Harthacnut 'did nothing kingly the while that he reigned.' He had Harold's body dug up and cast into a fen, whence the Danes of London rescued it. He taxed heavily to pay the crews of his ships, and when the men of Worcester rebelled, and slew two 'house-carls' who were sent to collect the tax, the three great earls, Godwine of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, and Siward of Northumbria, were ordered to harry the town and shire.

Godwine was now formally accused of the murder of the 'ætheling' Alfred, and cleared himself by 'compurgation.' In this form of trial, the accused man swore that he was innocent, and a body of 'compurgators,' or 'oath-helpers,' varying in number and rank with the standing of the accused and the nature of the crime, then swore that the oath of the accused was 'clean,' or true. Though Godwine seems only definitely to have denied complicity in the blinding of Alfred, he was acquitted, and he won the king's good graces by the gift of a gold-beaked ship, manned by eighty splendidly equipped warriors.

In 1042 Harthacnut died 'as he stood at his drink' at a wedding-feast. He was unmarried, but he had made provision for the succession. In 1041 the 'ætheling' Edward had come to England, and had been 'sworn to king,' or recognized as Harthacnut's

successor. Now, even before Harthacnut was buried, 'all men received Edward as king, as was his birth-right,' and he was crowned at Winchester in the following year. The only other likely candidates, indeed, were the exiled son of Edmund Ironside, Magnus, King of Norway, who claimed both Denmark and England in virtue of a treaty with Harthacnut, and Cnut's nephew Sweyn, son of his sister Estrith and of Earl Ulf. Godwine is said to have used all his persuasive eloquence to ensure Edward's accession, though Sweyn was connected with his own family; and when



MARCH. FIELD-WORK.

Ælfifu-Emma was suspected of intriguing against her son, old friendship did not prevent him from riding with the king and the great earls to Winchester, and carrying out the decree of the Witan by seizing the queen-mother's lands and treasure. It seems strange that the reputed murderer of Edward's brother, and the constant supporter of the house of Cnut, should thus abandon his Anglo-Danish policy; but the voice of the people had spoken for Edward, and the clear-sighted Godwine doubtless realized that he could best maintain firm and orderly government in England by fostering the national loyalty to the old royal stock, while he concentrated all real power in his own hands. Self-interest tended in the same direction. Since Cnut's death Godwine had been more or less under a cloud, but with the gentle, indolent Edward on the throne, he

might hope to build up again his old authority, and to found a great family, if not a dynasty.

The opening years of Edward's reign were, in truth, the period of Godwine's greatest power. In 1045 his beautiful and accomplished daughter, Edith, of whom it was said,

‘ As a rose from a thorn
Edith from Godwine was born ’
[*Sicut spina rosam*
Genuit Godwinus Editham],

became the king's wife, and the Court influence thus secured was strengthened by the accumulation of vast territorial possessions in the hands of the West-Saxon earl, his sons Sweyn and Harold, and his nephew Beorn, brother of Sweyn Estrithson. The house of Godwine ruled over the whole of Southern England from the Channel to the Thames and the Severn. The sea-coast from Humber to Severn-mouth, the Cinque Ports, the metropolitan see of Canterbury, the royal cities of London, Winchester, and Gloucester, the fertile valley of the Thames, were all within their immediate sphere of influence. Sweyn watched the Welsh frontier from his earldom, which included Oxfordshire and Berkshire, as well as the western shires of Hereford, Gloucester, and Somerset. Harold, Earl of East-Anglia, guarded the eastern coast. Beorn, apparently, was earl over a district roughly answering to the old ‘ Five Boroughs,’ or Danish Mercia, stretching to the southern bank of the Humber.

But north of Humber Siward the Strong ruled as an independent prince, and from his Mercian earldom Leofric looked with jealousy on the rapid rise of his rival.

Still more threatening was the king's fondness for foreign favourites and Norman customs. Ralph, his

sister's son, was early invested with an English earldom ; Norman bishops were appointed to English sees ; Norman castles, square stone towers or ' keeps,' sprang up on English soil. Trouble came, too, from Godwine's own family. His sons inherited the wild Wicking strain that ran in their Danish mother's blood : they were lawless and headstrong. In 1046 Sweyn was outlawed for carrying off the abbess of Leominster from her convent. When, three years later, the king would have pardoned him, Harold and Beorn, who had obtained his forfeited lands, refused to restore them. Edward at the time was at Sandwich, with part of the fleet, while Godwine and Beorn lay weather-bound on their ships at Pevensey. Here Sweyn joined them. He persuaded Beorn to return to Sandwich to plead with the king, enticed him to Bosham in Sussex, where his own fleet was waiting, had him kidnapped and rowed out to one of the ships, murdered him at sea, and buried him at Dartmouth. So savage a revenge roused general indignation. Beorn's friends and the ' lithsmen ' of London translated his body to Winchester. The king and the host proclaimed the murderer ' nithing,' or worthless, the strongest term of reproach known to the English. Six out of Sweyn's eight ships deserted him. He fled to Flanders, and though he was forgiven and ' inlawed ' the next year, his crime was not forgotten, and the popularity of the house of Godwine was weakened just when it needed all its strength to make a stand against the Norman party in England. In 1051 a serious blow was struck at Godwine's power by the appointment of the Norman Robert, formerly Abbot of Jumiegès and now Bishop of London, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, in preference to the earl's kinsman Ælfric. In the same

year, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, Edward's brother-in-law, visited England. Returning by Dover, one of his followers was slain by a townsman on whom he had forcibly quartered himself. A fight ensued, and men fell on either side. Eustace complained to the king, and Godwine was ordered to punish the Dover townsfolk. 'But,' says the chronicler, 'the earl would not, for that he was loth to injure his own earldom.' Thereupon the king summoned the Witan to Gloucester. But Godwine and his sons had a grievance of their own, in the excesses of the foreigners who had built 'Richard's castle' in Herefordshire, in Sweyn's earldom. They demanded the surrender of Eustace, and of the Frenchmen in the castle. The king replied by surrounding himself with the forces of the earls Siward, Leofric, and Ralph. Godwine, Sweyn, and Harold had gathered their followers also, 'though it was hateful to them to stand against their rightful lord.' Northern and Southern England were arrayed against each other. But the growing national feeling was shown in the reluctance to shed English blood, which prevented an appeal to arms, and referred the decision of the dispute to a later meeting of the Witan. When, in the autumn of 1051, this assembly met in London, the feeling against the house of Godwine ran high. Old charges were revived. Sweyn was outlawed. Godwine himself, according to one account, was mockingly bidden to restore alive the murdered Alfred and his companions. His followers began to drop off as the negotiations dragged slowly on. Fearing to appear before the Witan without the guarantee of safety which the king refused, he withdrew to Sussex, and thence, when the king and the Witan pronounced sentence of outlawry against him and his sons, he fled to Flanders.

With him went his wife and his sons Sweyn and Tostig, with Tostig's bride, Judith, the sister of the Count of Flanders. Harold and his younger brother Leofwine took refuge in Ireland, and Queen Edith was sent to a nunnery. The victory of the king's party seemed complete, when England's future conqueror, Duke William of Normandy, 'came from beyond sea with a great host of Frenchmen' to visit his cousin Edward, and to spy out the land which was already to him the land of promise.

But the English people mourned for Godwine,



MAY. SHEEP-TENDING.

whom they loved as a father, and marvelled at his fall. 'Wondrous would it have seemed,' wrote the Worcester chronicler, 'if any man before this had said that it should so befall, for that he was ere this so high upraised as if he ruled over the king and all England, and his sons were earls and the king's darlings, and his daughter wedded (*betrothed*) and married to the king.' Men desired to share his exile. They proposed to restore him by force, and though the King of France and the Count of Flanders interceded vainly for the exiles, the summer of 1052 saw their triumphant return. Godwine crossed with a fleet to Dungeness, and thence, hearing that the king's ships were at Sandwich, he sailed to Pevensey. A storm drove him back to Flanders, and the royal fleet returned to

London. The earl seized the opportunity to slip across to England, and after harrying the Isle of Wight, he sailed westward to Portland, where he met Harold, who, with nine ships, had come from Ireland, plundering and slaying on the western and southern coasts as he went. The combined forces of father and son turned eastwards again, and as they came into their own district, the sailors of the Cinque Ports brought their ships to meet them, and the men of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex came forth, ready to live or die with their earl. They sailed up the Thames to Godwine's house at Southwark, to find the king



AUGUST. REAPING

waiting for them with fifty ships, and a body of troops drawn up on the northern bank. Godwine's ships outnumbered those of Edward; he had a land force also, and the Londoners were on his side, but he vowed that he would rather die than do aught against his lord the king. Both sides shrank from fighting their kinsmen; all alike hated the king's 'outlandish' favourites, and in a meeting of the Witan Godwine declared his innocence, and was restored to the king's friendship and to his 'full earldom.' His sons regained their former honours, save Sweyn, who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to expiate his crimes, and died on his return journey. Queen Edith returned

from her convent. Good laws were promised to the people in place of the Norman 'unlaw' and injustice, and 'Robert the Archbishop and all the Frenchmen were outlawed, because they had made discord between Godwine earl and the king.' The archbishop fought his way to the coast and escaped in a crazy ship, and the Norman courtiers took horse and fled to their castles.

Godwine did not long enjoy his recovered prosperity. As he and his sons were keeping the Easter of 1053 at Winchester with the king, he fell from his seat, struck down by mortal illness, and never spoke again. He



SEPTEMBER. BOAR-HUNTING.

was buried in the Old Minster at Winchester, while the people wept for the 'Earl of happy memory,' the nursing father of the kingdom.

In after-days, the great earl's sudden death formed the nucleus of an elaborate legend. Godwine, in this story, was sitting at table with Edward when the murder of Alfred was mentioned. Then said the earl, 'I see, Oh king, that you frown on me when you remember your brother, but God forbid that I should swallow this morsel if I am guilty of anything tending to his peril or to your disadvantage.' As he thus spoke, choked with the morsel which he had put into his mouth, he closed his eyes in death. As the stain of

Alfred's murder clung to Godwine through life, so this idle tale, embroidered with many fresh details, persistently darkened his memory. Norman hatred painted him as a crafty traitor, bent on establishing his own power at all costs. But the English remembered the West-Saxon earl and his sons as 'men of great mind, the diligent founders and guardians of Edward's kingdom.' There is truth in both estimates. Godwine was a great noble, with the local and personal ambitions of his class, but his aims were far wider and more statesmanlike than those of his fellow-earls. They sought to weaken the kingship and to rule at will over the provinces of a divided England. Godwine sought to unify England, and to strengthen himself by strengthening the kingship and controlling it. Thus his family policy was but part of a national policy. Gifted with a power of personal influence which caused it to be said of him that 'where he leaned, thither fortune would turn,' he used that influence to win the confidence of the English people, to rouse in them a national spirit, and to maintain the 'good laws' which were their most precious heritage. For this he deserves the title of 'land-father' (*pater patriæ*), which a contemporary writer gives him, for in the feeling of national unity and the preservation of Old-English law lay the best safeguard against the dangers which threatened England in the local isolation of the great earls and the innovating tendencies of foreign invaders.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

(1027-1087.)

IN a rocky valley in the pleasant land of Normandy, overshadowed by a ruined castle, lies the little town of Falaise. Here, in the year 1027, as the townsfolk still with pride relate, was born William the Great, the destined conqueror of England.

The son of the Norman duke, Robert the Magnificent, and of a Falaise tanner's daughter, William's boyhood was one long struggle with adverse fortune. He was only seven years old when his father, before starting on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, presented him to the Norman nobles as their future ruler. 'He is little,' said the duke, 'but he will grow, and the King of France will protect him.'

Unwillingly enough the proud Norman lords did homage to the child, whom they despised for his base birth. When, a few months later, Duke Robert died in Asia Minor, the vows thus reluctantly taken were promptly broken. The nobles built stone castles, whence they ravaged the surrounding country. The guardians of the boy-duke were assassinated. His own life was attempted. But this stern training brought out all William's natural force of character. Before he was twenty he had crushed a formidable rising of

the nobles of Western Normandy in the battle of Valès-dunes (1047), destroyed the rebels' castles, and



FALAISE CASTLE,

Neurdein Frères.

restored peace and security to the duchy. Before he was forty he had won the English crown.

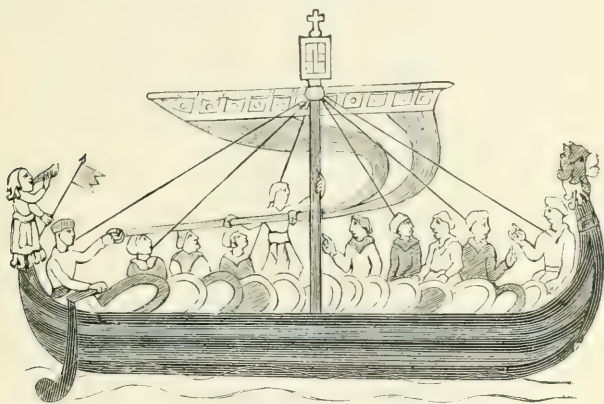
When, in 1051, the young duke returned, laden with gifts, from his visit to England, he may already have dreamt of succeeding to the throne of the childless Edward the Confessor. Henceforth his whole policy tended to the realization of that dream. His alliance with Flanders through his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Count Baldwin V., meant security from northern invasion for the duchy, and a clear passage across the Channel. The defeat of Henry I. of France, in the battles of Mortemer (1055) and Varaville (1058), secured his eastern frontier against French aggression. His conquest of Maine (1064) strengthened his southern frontier against the Count of Anjou. The death of the French king in 1060 and the guardianship of his young son Philip by Baldwin of Flanders also told in William's favour, while the Pope, who had opposed the marriage with Matilda, was won over in 1059 by Lanfranc, the famous Abbot of Bec.

Meanwhile in England the succession question became urgent, when the surviving son of Edmund Ironside returned from exile only to die. His son Edgar was a child, and England needed a strong man to save her from the foes who ringed her round—Scots and Welsh and Irish Danes, across the Channel the watchful Norman duke, and beyond the North Sea Sweyn Estrithson, King of Denmark. At such a crisis, Harold, son of Godwine, might not unreasonably cherish designs on the crown. Already Earl of Wessex and Herefordshire, Edward the Confessor's right-hand man and 'under-king' (*subregulus*), he, with his brothers Tostig Gyrth and Leofwine, ruled all England save the earldom of Mercia, which Leofric's son Ælfgar inherited in 1057. But local feuds thwarted Harold's consolidating policy. In 1065 the Northumbrians drove

out Tostig, who had been their earl since Siward's death, and chose in his stead Morkere, son of Ælfgar and brother of Edwin, who had recently succeeded to the Mercian earldom. The houses of Godwine and Leofric were now almost equal in territorial power, and though on Edward the Confessor's death in January, 1066, Harold was crowned king, he ruled by a doubtful title. The Old-English kingship was both elective and hereditary. The 'Witan' (*wise men*), or central assembly, chose the king, but their choice was restricted to one family, the 'royal stock.' The nomination of the late king gave a claim to consideration, but no right to the throne. Though Edward had probably recommended Harold as his successor, he lacked the hereditary qualification, and it is uncertain how far he was freely elected by the Witan. Only one English chronicler definitely states that 'men chose him' as king, and the Normans declared that he seized the crown by force.

William of Normandy's opportunity had now come. He claimed the English throne as the chosen heir of his cousin Edward, and charged Harold with usurpation and perjury. Some time previously, indeed, Harold, shipwrecked on the coast of Ponthieu, had been surrendered to William, and compelled, as the price of freedom, to swear on the relics of the saints to further the duke's succession to the English kingdom. The invasion of England could, moreover, be represented as a holy war against the rebellious English, who had unlawfully deprived Robert of Jumièges of the archbishopric of Canterbury. William could point to the Pope's gift of a consecrated banner, and to the Papal Bull declaring Harold a usurper, as proofs of the righteousness of his cause. By thus appealing to the

religious zeal of his vassals, and by holding out hopes of plunder, he gathered a large force of Norman nobles and of mercenary adventurers. The duke's own administrative ability was shown in the ceaseless activity which in seven months built a fleet and made all ready for the great expedition. Meantime, Harold, too, had gathered his 'ship-fyrd' and 'land-fyrd' to meet the danger which threatened from two quarters.



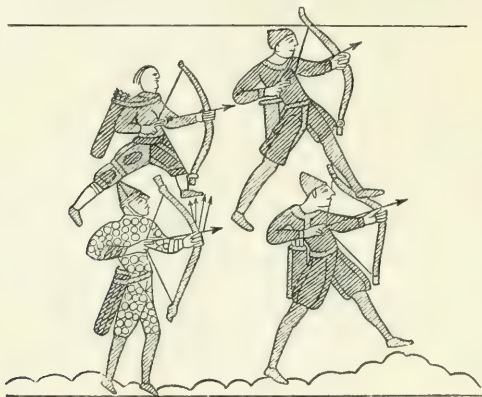
DUKE WILLIAM COMES TO PEVENSEY.

(*From the Bayeux Tapestry.*)

The Norman host lay at St. Valéry, awaiting a favourable wind to cross the Channel, and the banished Tostig was hovering with a fleet about the English coast. Harold held his forces together in the Isle of Wight through the summer of 1066, but with September they dispersed to reap the harvest. Then came tidings that Tostig and his ally, Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, had sailed up the Humber and were menacing York. Edwin and Morkere had already been defeated, and York had made terms, when Harold, riding night and day with his house-carls and thegns,

surprised the invaders, and utterly crushed them in the battle of Stamford Bridge.

The victory was dearly bought. The wind changed, and the Normans landed unopposed at Pevensey. Hurrying southward with his thegns and house-carls, and summoning the Wessex 'fyrdmen' from their harvest-fields, Harold occupied the hill of Senlac, above Hastings, and offered battle without waiting for the Northern earls to come up. Grouped round the Dragon



NORMAN ARCHERS.
(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

of Wessex and Harold's own standard of the Fighting Man, the English were massed on the hill. All were on foot—the house-carls and thegns in helmets and shirts of mail, with battle-axes, spears, short swords, and long kite-shaped shields, the fyrdmen rudely armed with clubs, stakes, or javelins. The Norman knights fought on horseback, with sword and lance, and their footmen included a body of archers.

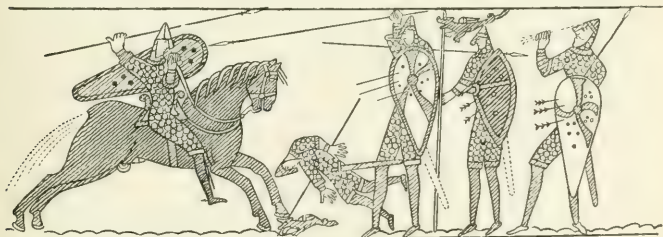
On the morning of October 14 the Normans rode into action with the consecrated banner in their midst.

Before them went the minstrel Taillefer, singing the song of Roland,* as he tossed his sword into the air. The English locked their shields together and awaited the attack. The archers opened the fight with a cloud



NORMAN HORSEMEN.
(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

of arrows. The thunder of blows followed, and the lightning of clashing sword and shield. Twice the Normans charged up the slope, only to fall back from the impenetrable 'shield-wall.' Then, feigning flight,



HAROLD TRYING TO PULL THE ARROW FROM HIS EYE.
(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

they lured the English from their strong formation, and, turning on them fiercely, won the crest of the hill. The king and his house-carls gallantly defended the

* One of the twelve 'paladins' in the romance of Charlemagne.

standards, till Harold, his eye pierced by an arrow, sank beside the bodies of his brothers Gyrth and Leofwine, to meet death at the hands of his triumphant foes, 'and,' writes the English chronicler, 'the Frenchmen held the place of slaughter, as God granted it them for our sins.'

The Norman victory was largely due to the duke's



WILLIAM THE CONQUEOR AND HIS KNIGHTS.
(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

indomitable will. When his men wavered on the rumour of his death, he raised his helmet, with the cry : 'I live, and by God's help I will conquer,' and this resolute trust in his cause inspired others with equal confidence.

After the battle William secured Dover, received the submission of Winchester, and marched by Canterbury on London, where the Witan had already chosen as

king Edgar Ætheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside. Edwin and Morkere, who had left Harold unsupported at Hastings, still hesitated to fight, and when the Normans, after burning Southwark, crossed the Thames at Wallingford and reached Berkhamstead, ravaging as they went, the Londoners, led by the Archbishop of York and the boy-king, submitted to the Conqueror. On Christmas Day William was crowned at Westminster by the Archbishop of York, while the assembled English hailed him as king with a great shout. It seemed an unlucky omen that the Norman soldiers without, alarmed at the clamour, set fire to the neighbouring houses, and the ceremony ended in angry tumult.

But though the Norman duke had been elected king of the English, the greater part of the country remained unsubdued, and even in the conquered districts the spirit of revolt was abroad. For more than three years after the coronation William's full powers were taxed by the difficulty of holding the prize which his sword had won. In 1067, whilst he was in Normandy, the English rebelled against his regents—his half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, and William Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford. In 1068 Exeter was taken, and the West was subdued; the sons of Harold were driven back from the Somersetshire coast to Ireland; a Northern rising was suppressed, and the Great North Road was guarded by a chain of castles; while Edwin and Morkere submitted, and Edgar Ætheling withdrew to Scotland. In 1069 a second Northern revolt was followed by the appearance of a Danish fleet in the Humber. At once the North rose again under Edgar Ætheling, and the flame of rebellion spread through the western and south-western shires.

Leaving the Earl of Hereford to deal with the Western insurgents, King William bought off the Danes, regained York, and crushed the North by harrying the country up to the river Tees. Then, by a wonderful march over snow-clad moors, he swooped down on Chester, and stamped out the last embers of revolt. The English patriots made a final stand in the Isle of Ely under Hereward, and Edwin and Morkere escaped from the Court to join them. But Edwin was slain by his own men, and Morkere only reached Ely to be banished by William on the capture of the 'Camp of Refuge' in 1071. The conquest of England was crowned in 1072 by the submission of Malcolm, King of Scots. William's hands were freed for the task of bringing order out of the chaos of a disorganized Church, an ambitious baronage, and a dispirited people.

His first care was for the Church. In England the spiritual fervour of Dunstan's day had waxed faint, and ecclesiastical discipline had been relaxed in the Danish wars, while the effects of Cnut's reforms had died out under his weak successors. But on the Continent the eleventh century was marked by a religious revival, which was due in great measure to the monastic revival of the tenth century, when the Rule of St. Benedict, which was generally observed by the monks of the West, was revived and developed in the Burgundian abbey of Cluny. The Cluniac monks held lofty theories of the sacredness and dignity of the spiritual power. They sought to purify the Church by freeing it from secular interests. Hence they waged unceasing war against the marriage of the clergy, which entangled them in secular cares, and against simony, the practice of buying and selling spiritual services and offices. Their teaching had a profound influence. Cluny be-

came the starting-point of a widespread movement of ecclesiastical reform, which led to a reform of the Papacy; and for nearly a hundred years—from the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the twelfth century—men trained in the Cluniac traditions guided the destinies of the Western Church.

William the Conqueror had done much to further the reform movement in his duchy, and when he turned to the re-organization of the English Church, it was to Normandy that he looked for help. In 1070 Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived of his see for holding the bishopric of Winchester with the archbishopric, for acting as archbishop during the lifetime of Robert of Jumièges, and for seeking his pall from the anti-Pope. In his place William appointed Lanfranc, Abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, the great teacher who, as prior of Bec, had made that remote Norman abbey one of the most famous centres of learning in Western Christendom.

The English bishops and abbots were gradually replaced by Normans, the bishops' sees were removed from country villages to towns, and many of the massive Norman cathedrals and abbeys, of which portions still remain, were built, among them 'Battle Abbey,' on the hill of Senlac. Special church councils were held by the archbishop, and ecclesiastical cases, which had formerly been heard in the local courts of shire and hundred, where bishop and ealdorman declared the custom law, were henceforth tried by the bishops in their own courts, by ecclesiastical or 'canon' law.

Though these changes tended to bring England into harmony with the new theories of church government, and to weaken the former intimate connection between

Church and State, the Conqueror had no intention of giving up the substantial authority over ecclesiastical matters which his predecessors had enjoyed. In 1073, Alexander II., the Pope who had blessed the conquest of England, was succeeded by Gregory VII., the famous Hildebrand, a monk of Cluny, whose attempts to realize the Cluniac ideal, and to make the spiritual power supreme over all temporal powers, brought about the great struggle between the Papacy and the Empire. When, however, he demanded from the English king not only tribute, the old 'Peter's pence,' but fealty, as from vassal to lord, William firmly refused. The tribute which former English kings had paid he would render, but fealty was a new claim which he would never recognize. His determination to be master in his own kingdom was further marked in the three rules or 'customs' which defined his position as head of the English Church. No Pope might be acknowledged in his dominions without his permission, nor might Papal letters be received before he had seen them. The Archbishop of Canterbury might not decree or forbid anything in an ecclesiastical council unless the king had approved it and ordained it beforehand. No bishop might excommunicate or punish the king's barons or servants without the royal consent. Thus the English Church retained its national character, even while the Norman Conquest drew it into closer union with the Churches of the Continent, with all that such union implied—law and order and good government, a share in the spiritual and intellectual life of Western Christendom, citizenship of the world instead of insularity, vigorous and even stormy progress instead of dull stagnation.

The Conqueror's subjugation of the revolted English

proved his courage and military ability. In his reform of the English Church he revealed the organizing power of his race, and the sincere, if somewhat formal, piety of his age. His policy towards the arrogant Norman nobles gave evidence of statesmanlike prudence and foresight. Local disunion had wrought the downfall of the West-Saxon dynasty. The lesson was not lost upon the Conqueror, who had seen the results of baronial ambition in Normandy. The Norman nobles, their duke's equals by birth, who had shed their blood in his cause, might well hope to share with him the fruits of conquest. But William was quick to take advantage of his position as the heir of the Confessor, elected by the 'Witan.' Those who had fought for Harold were treated as rebels against their lawful king, and their estates were confiscated to the Crown, while those who had not fought had to 'redeem' their lands by a money payment. Thus, as national king, William gathered all the land of England into his own hands, and as Conqueror he redistributed it on his own terms. The estates which were granted to Norman lords were scattered through several counties, to avoid dangerous accumulations of territorial power, and were held directly of the king by military service. Nor would William consent to part with the royal rights of supreme justice save in the 'Palatine' earldoms which guarded the frontiers—Cheshire, Shropshire, Kent, and the bishopric of Durham—while the castles which he built to overawe the English were garrisoned with royal troops, and the government of the shires was entrusted to royal sheriffs.

The discontent of the Normans soon found vent in organized revolt. In 1075 Ralph Guader, the English-Breton Earl of Norfolk, married the sister of Roger,

the Norman Earl of Hereford, and at the marriage feast a rising was planned with Waltheof, the English Earl of Huntingdon, son of Siward of Northumbria. But, in the words of the Chronicle,

‘ There was that bride-ale
To many men’s bale.’

Waltheof betrayed the plot to the king. Lanfranc thundered excommunication against the rebels. The sheriffs of Hereford and Worcester, and the English Bishop of Worcester, Wulfstan, led out the ‘fyrd,’ and prevented Roger’s army from crossing the Severn, while Odo of Bayeux defeated Ralph Guader in the East. Roger was imprisoned for life, Ralph fled over-sea, and Waltheof, the least guilty of the three, was executed, probably as an Englishman under the English law, which punished treason with death.

The suppression of the rising by bishops, sheriffs, and ‘fyrd,’ showed the wisdom of following the example of Edgar and Cnut, in relying on the Church as a check to the great nobles, and maintaining the Old-English institutions as a balance to baronial power. Throughout his reign William pursued this policy. The West-Saxon laws were confirmed, the local courts were retained, the Anglo-Saxon oath of allegiance was taken from all freemen, and with it was combined an oath of homage from all landholders in a great meeting at Salisbury in 1086. Yet, with all this seeming continuity, the English people smarted under a bitter sense of change. The sheriff who called out the ‘fyrd’ and presided over the shire-court, the lord who lived in the manor-house, the abbot in the monastery, the great baron in the frowning castle which English labour had helped to build, were strangers and foreigners. The English freeman, whose independent holding now

formed part of a Norman manor; the English monk, who could not understand the language of his Norman superiors, were restless and discontented, and their misery still echoes in the words of the Peterborough chronicler: 'The king and the head-men loved covetousness much and overmuch. . . . They recked not how sinfully . . . the sheriffs got money from poor

.111) **TERRA S^CI PETRI WESTMONAST^RI** ~~ASSOLVET~~
In Villa ubi sedet eccl^a s^ci petri. tenet abb^o eide
 loca. xiii. hid⁷ dim⁷. Tra. ē ad xi. car⁷. Ad dñum
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 car⁷. 7 i. car⁷ plus pot⁷ fieri. lbi. ix. uilli q⁷sq⁷ de. i. uing⁷.
 7 i. uill⁷ de. i. hide 7 ix. uill⁷ q⁷sq⁷ de dim⁷ uing⁷. 7 i. cor⁷
 de. v. ac⁷. 7 xl. i. cor⁷ q⁷ redd⁷ p ann⁷. xl. sol⁷ p oral⁷ suis.
 p⁷ai. xi. car⁷. P⁷asta ad pecun⁷ uille. Silva. c. porc⁷.
 7 xxv. dom⁷ milicu⁷ abbi⁷ 7 alioz hōim. qui p⁷at⁷
 viii. sol⁷ p annū. In total⁷ ualent⁷ ual⁷. x. lib. Q⁷do
 recep⁷. similit⁷. T. R. E. xii. lib. Hoc tñ fuit 7 est
 in dño eccl^a s^ci petri. westmonasterii.

PART OF A PAGE OF DOMESDAY BOOK.
 (From the original in the Public Record Office.)

men.' In 1084 William revived the Danegeld which the Confessor had abolished, and in order to make this tax yield as much as possible he caused the great Domesday Survey to be taken in 1086, and its results to be recorded in Domesday Book. In every shire throughout England committees of Normans and Englishmen, under the sheriff, inquired into the distribution of the land, the names of the landholders, the

number of their tenants, the area under cultivation, the pastures, mills, and fish-ponds, the amount formerly paid as Danegeld, and the possibility of extorting more in the future. 'There was not one hide nor one yard of land . . . not an ox nor a cow nor a pig that was not set down.' Equally unpopular were William's Forest Laws. A mighty hunter, who could draw a bow while galloping on horseback which no other man could bend, he 'loved the high deer as if he were their father,' made blinding the penalty for killing them, and swept away churches and villages to form his royal hunting-ground of the New Forest. 'His great men complained, and the poor men murmured . . . but he recked naught of them all.'

The latter half of the Conqueror's reign was occupied with wars in Brittany and Wales, and revolts in Normandy, where in 1078 the barons and the King of France supported William's eldest son Robert in an attempt to wrest the duchy from his father. The year 1087, which opened with pestilence, storm, and famine, closed with the death of 'William, England's king.' As he watched the burning of the town of Mantes, which he had destroyed to punish the French king for an idle jest, his horse swerved, and he received a fatal injury. He died at Rouen on September 9, 1087, and was buried in his own abbey-church of St. Stephen at Caen. When his body was about to be lowered into the earth, a knight stepped forward and cried aloud: 'The ground on which you stand was the place of my father's house. I forbid the body of the spoiler to be buried in my inheritance.' William had, indeed, seized the land to build his church, and payment had to be made for the grave before the knight would suffer the king to be laid to rest. 'He who had ruled over so

many cities and towns and villages lacked a free spot of earth that was his own for his burial.'

Thus passed away the Conqueror of England, a great king, a strong, self-contained man, 'beyond measure stern to those who gainsaid his will, but mild to good men who loved God.' Long after his death his people talked of his tall, bulky figure, his fierce expression and haughty manner, and recalled with half-unwilling admiration the strict justice of the king who dared to 'put earls in bonds and thegns in prison,' and the 'good peace which he made in the land, so that a man might go unharmed through the kingdom with his bosom full of gold.'

SAINT ANSELM, THE LAST OF THE FATHERS.

(1034-1109.)

IT is significant of the change wrought in the English Church by the Norman Conquest that for nearly a century after the Battle of Hastings the greatest English Churchmen were not Englishmen. Lanfranc and St. Anselm, the successors on the throne of Canterbury of those island saints Dunstan and Ælfheah, were men of Italian birth, Norman training, and European fame, who brought to the country of their adoption the quickened energy and the wide culture born of a varied experience.

If Lanfranc represents the practical benefits which a closer union with the Churches of the Continent conferred on England, the benefits of strong government, orderly rule, and regulated industry, St. Anselm represents that spiritual influence of the Christian faith which ennobled and gave meaning to the drudgery of material labour. His was one of those saintly characters which were the best fruits of mediæval and monastic Christianity. As a thinker and teacher he bore witness to the educating and civilizing power of the Catholic Church; yet it was during his archiepiscopate that the first signs of strife between Church

and State appeared in England, and thus the story of his life illustrates with peculiar vividness the good and the evil of the wonderful ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages—its religious charm, its intellectual force, its spirit of exclusiveness and arrogance. Born at Aosta, an ancient Roman town nestling beneath the great range of Alps which divides Italy from Switzerland, Anselm early felt the influences of the classic past, and of a grand and rugged nature. To his childish fancy heaven rested on the snowy mountain-peaks, and in his dreams he wandered up to the palace of God, and sat at the feet of the Lord. His studious, fervent nature led him, while still a boy, to desire the monastic vocation ; but his ardour cooled as life, with all the attractions it had to offer for the son of noble and wealthy parents, opened before him, and after his mother's death he seems to have given himself up unreservedly to worldly pleasures. The love of serious things and the passion for knowledge natural to a mind of great power reasserted themselves, however, when his father's severity drove him from home to seek his fortune beyond the Alps. He had heard of the fame of Lanfranc, and after three years of wandering he settled down in the Abbey of Bec, to study and teach day and night under the direction of the great master.

When his father died, a threefold choice lay before him : the life of an Italian noble, administering his hereditary estates for the good of the poor, the life of a hermit, and the life of a monk. It was characteristic of the spirit of compromise which always distinguished Anselm that he chose the middle course, a life in the world though out of the world, active yet sheltered—the life of the monastery.

In 1063, when Lanfranc became Abbot of St.

Stephen's at Caen, Anselm succeeded him as prior of Bec. In 1078 he was appointed abbot on the death of the aged founder Herlouin, and he held the abbacy till, in 1093, he was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Anselm's best years were thus spent at Bec, and the record of his life there has been preserved for us by his disciple, the English monk Eadmer. The daily routine of a great religious house gave scope for ability of all kinds. The monasteries of that early period served as inns for travellers, schools for the young, hospitals and workhouses for the sick and poor, libraries for the preservation of manuscripts. The monks worked hard themselves, and taught others to work. They felled woods, drained and cultivated waste lands, tended flocks and herds, and performed all the household work of the community, which was in itself almost a little world. They were cooks, butlers, tailors, carpenters, wheelwrights, farmers, gardeners, doctors, sick-nurses, musicians, authors, schoolmasters, lawyers, architects, and builders, according to their several gifts, and as the claims of their religious duties gave opportunity. To the abbot, who presided over the whole society, and to the prior, his immediate assistant, fell a specially heavy share of administrative work: the organization of all departments, the responsibility for the moral and physical well-being of the brethren, the representation of the interests of the monastery in the outside world. Anselm proved himself equal to the task. As prior, he gave his whole time and thoughts to the service of God and his fellow-men. Often, after a hard day spent in counselling and exhorting those who came to him for advice, he would pass the greater part of the night in correcting manuscripts, or in meditating, with tears of longing, on the blessedness of the future life. The

jealousies of his brother-monks he subdued by a gentleness which won over the most obstinate. Tenderness was indeed a marked feature of his character. Young men confided their secrets to him as to 'the sweetest of mothers.' He loved children, and reproved an abbot who tried to flog his little scholars into goodness. Trees, he said, would not thrive if they were tied up and restrained from the freedom of their natural growth; the goldsmith would not fashion delicate images by rough strokes of the hammer; even so children would best bring forth the fruits of virtue and show the beauty of holiness if they were treated with fatherly kindness. The later story of the hunted hare which sought and found refuge under the archbishop's horse, and the tales of his personal care of the sick and infirm in the abbey hospital, bear witness to his sympathy with every kind of weakness and suffering.

With this simplicity of nature he combined great intellectual gifts. While still prior he set himself to explain 'obscure and hitherto unsolved questions touching the Divinity of God and our faith,' and throughout his life he occupied himself with writing Latin treatises on difficult points in religion and philosophy, which won him a leading place among the deepest thinkers of the age, so that he has been called 'the last of the Fathers' of the Church, and 'the first of the Schoolmen,' or later teachers of philosophy and theology.

When, most unwillingly, Anselm accepted the position of abbot at Bec, he gave up much of the practical work of the monastery, and devoted himself to contemplation and to the education and discipline of the monks. He now visited the possessions of Bec in England, where he won many friends by his genial

manners and the ready tact with which he adapted his conversation to his hearers, warning and teaching by means of pithy homely anecdotes and illustrations. Even the mighty Conqueror became as another man in Anselm's presence, and when he lay dying at Rouen it was to the Abbot of Bec that his thoughts turned in his extremity.

With the Conqueror's death the hopes of the great feudal nobles revived, but in England, William Rufus, with the help of Archbishop Lanfranc and of the English people, firmly repressed the spirit of revolt. At first the rule of Rufus promised well, but when in 1089 Lanfranc died, the king showed himself in his true colours as one who 'feared God but little, man not at all.' Personally brave, and scrupulous in the observance of the formal rules of chivalrous honour, he had inherited something of his father's shrewd business instincts, as well as his military capacity, but he lacked just those qualities wherein had lain the Conqueror's strength—the kingly dignity, the steadfast will, the unerring judgment. Hard, grasping, ambitious, of a bitter, mocking spirit, there were few to speak a good word for the Red King. He alienated the nobles by his severity, the clergy by his oppression of the Church, the people by his ruthless avarice, all men, in that age of superstitious piety, by his daring irreverence and contempt for holy things. He scrupled not to seize the treasures of the Church, and to retain vacant benefices in his own hands that he might enjoy their revenues, for 'he would be the heir of every man, hallowed and lay.' On Lanfranc's death, even the mother-church of Canterbury was left vacant, 'widowed of her pastor,' for nearly four years. At the Christmas Council of Gloucester in 1092 the king was asked to

allow prayers to be offered in all the churches that God would lead him to appoint a worthy archbishop. 'Whatever the Church may pray for,' sneered Rufus, 'nothing shall prevent me from doing what I choose.' 'By the Holy Face of Lucca,' he cried, when Anselm, then in England, was suggested as Lanfranc's successor, 'neither he nor anyone else shall be archbishop at present, save myself!' But his mood changed when in 1093 a dangerous illness overwhelmed him with the fear of death. Anselm was summoned to the royal sick-bed, and, with full and solemn promises of amendment of life, the king nominated him to the archbishopric.

Vainly did Anselm, now nearly sixty, and reluctant to accept fresh responsibility, plead his age, his incapacity for secular business, the ties that bound him to Normandy. The bishops overruled all his objections, the sick king urged him with tears to yield. When he still resisted, the pastoral staff was held by force against his clenched hand, and he was almost carried into the church, murmuring, amid the cries of 'Long live the bishop,' and the chanting of the *Te Deum*, 'Ye do nought, ye do nought.' To the bishops he gave a characteristic warning. The plough of the Church, he said, had been drawn in England by two strong oxen—the king, representing secular justice and sovereignty, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, representing Divine doctrine and governance. Now to a wild young bull they would yoke a weak old sheep, and the result would be failure and disappointment. The prophecy was soon fulfilled. Anselm did homage in the autumn of 1093, and was consecrated in December. Before the end of the year he and the king were at variance. Rufus had recovered, only to be more reckless than

before his illness. 'By the Holy Face of Lucca,' he swore, 'God shall never have me good for the evil that He has wrought me!' He would be supreme in Church and State; but he merely valued power for selfish ends, whereas Anselm thought that power was entrusted to kings for the good of their people, and that the commands of earthly princes might be disobeyed if they were contrary to the law of God, of which the Church was the interpreter. Disputes were inevitable. Rufus was dissatisfied at the amount contributed by the archbishop to the war in Normandy, and gave vent to his anger when Anselm asked to fetch his 'pall,' the white woollen stole which the Pope granted to archbishops as a sign of their office, from Urban II. Urban was acknowledged as Pope by France and Normandy, but the Emperor supported the rival Pope Clement, and the English king had not yet made his choice. Rufus refused, in accordance with his father's 'customs,' to allow the archbishop to accept a Pope whom he had not himself recognized, though Anselm had declared openly before his consecration that, as Abbot of Bec, he was already bound to Urban. The matter was referred to a Great Council at Rockingham. All the bishops, save Gundulf of Rochester, sided with Rufus, but the lay nobles and the people took Anselm's part. The king, after trying to win over Urban II. by acknowledging him as Pope, at last consented to a reconciliation, and Anselm agreed to take the pall, which a Papal Legate had brought to England, from the altar in Canterbury Cathedral.

But the hope of peace was vain. The king grumbled at the archbishop's offering towards the expenses in Normandy, and at the ill-equipment of the troops he provided for the Welsh war. Summoned before the

king's court, Anselm resolved to go to Rome and take counsel of the Pope. After three refusals from Rufus he threatened to go without leave. This was contrary to custom, and now bishops and barons alike were on the king's side. Rufus bade Anselm either promise never again to appeal to the Pope, or leave the realm.



SEAL OF ST. ANSELM.

He chose the latter course, and after blessing the king, he embarked at Dover, where, as a last insult, a king's officer searched his baggage lest he should be carrying off treasure. Travelling by Cluny and Lyons, he crossed Mont Cenis to Rome in 1098. Urban received him with great honour as 'the Pope of another world,'

but did little practically to advance his cause. In 1099 Anselm was present at the great Lateran Council which condemned, on pain of excommunication, all lay 'investiture'—that is, the grant and reception of the symbols of ecclesiastical office from lay hands—and also all homage of ecclesiastics to laymen for Church honours. Shortly after this he withdrew to Lyons, where, says Eadmer, in the following year, 1100, a beautiful youth appeared in the night to one of the archbishop's clerks, and bade him tell his master that the quarrel with the Red King was at an end. Some days after came the news that Rufus had fallen, shot to death by an arrow while hunting in the New Forest. The tender-hearted Anselm shed tears over his enemy's tragic fate, though to him the accession of William's brother Henry meant restoration to home and country.

One of Henry's first actions was to recall Anselm, 'the noble exile, with whom all religion was also banished,' and to restore him to all his honours. It was Anselm who married Matilda, niece of Edgar Ætheling, to Henry in October, 1100; it was he who held the nobles firm to their allegiance to the king when Robert of Normandy landed in England in 1102.

Yet on ecclesiastical questions king and archbishop could not agree. Henry claimed the right, exercised by his father and brother, of receiving homage from all English prelates for the temporal possessions of their sees, which they held as barons, and also of conferring on them the 'spiritualities,' the ecclesiastical dignities and powers of the office, by the grant of the pastoral staff and ring. But after the Lateran decree of 1099 Anselm felt himself bound to resist this claim, and a long struggle followed, which was really only part of the great struggle over the same question which was

going on at the time between Pope and Emperor. To Henry, according to Eadmer, to lose homage and investiture seemed like losing half his kingdom; but he feared to offend Anselm, lest he should make Robert King of England. Urban II. was now dead, and the new Pope, Paschal II., supported the archbishop, but the English bishops and nobles held to the king.

Long and wearisome negotiations ensued. Embassies and letters passed between England and Rome, and at length, in 1103, Anselm himself went to the Papal Court to try and settle matters. The Pope, however, refused to sanction the 'customs' of William the Conqueror, and the archbishop was given to understand that under the circumstances Henry did not desire his presence in England. Once more he retired to Lyons; but though the king seized the revenues of the archbishopric, there was no open breach, and the queen and Bishop Gundulf of Rochester stood by Anselm throughout. In 1106, the year of the Battle of Tenchebrai, he returned to England, and in the following year, 1107, after a three days' debate in the Great Council, a wise compromise was effected. The king entirely gave up his claim to invest with bishopric or abbacy by staff and ring; the archbishop, with the Pope's sanction, gave up his claim to refuse consecration to prelates-elect who had done homage to the king. The king, that is, retained the right of conferring the 'temporalities,' but surrendered the grant of 'spiritualities' to the Church. It was in essentials much the same agreement as was come to fifteen years later, in 1122, at Worms, between Paschal II. and the Emperor Henry V.

Thus the first great contest between Church and State in England ended in a partial victory for both sides, thanks to the gentle firmness of Anselm and the

calm good sense of Henry I. The struggle was destined to be revived again and again in different ages and in different forms, for it was, in truth, a struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities for supreme power in the Church. In the feudal twelfth century the questions at issue were, naturally enough, the feudal questions of homage and of the grant of lands and authority. If the prelates were exempted from homage for the estates they held of the Crown, the king would not be in any real sense supreme feudal lord in England, and the tie between Church and State would be weakened. In the matter of homage, then, the king was quite right in clinging to his father's 'customs.' This point won, however, he was wise in yielding the further point of investiture, in which no question of landholding or feudal service was involved, and in which the intrusion of laymen might well seem an insult to the spiritual dignity of the Church.

Anselm lived less than two years after the settlement. His last days were peacefully spent in good works, in meditation, and in study. While his frail body wasted away, his mind retained all its vigour. As he lay on his death-bed on the Palm Sunday of 1109, he desired, if it were God's will, to live to solve a question on the origin of the soul with which he was engaged. But this was not to be. He 'left the world for his Lord's Easter Court' three days later, on the Wednesday before Easter, 'in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, and the seventy-sixth of his life.' He was buried near Lanfranc at Canterbury, but his body was afterwards moved to a chapel beneath the south-eastern tower of the cathedral. Miracles were imputed to him, though he does not seem to have been formally canonized till the fifteenth century.

Eadmer records how, at the hour of Anselm's death, a Canterbury monk saw in a vision St. Dunstan and a company of fair white-robed attendants, waiting in the archbishop's death-chamber to lead his soul to heaven.

It was a pretty fancy which linked the great English saint with his worthy successor, 'Anselm, than whom none was ever more tenacious of right, none in this time so thoroughly learned, none so perfectly spiritual, the father of his country, the mirror of the world.'*

From Eadmer's 'Life of Anselm.'

Another time he (Anselm) saw a boy playing with a little bird in the road. The bird's leg was tied with a string, and when this was slackened, it tried to fly away, desiring to escape. But the boy, holding the string in his hand, pulled the bird back every time, thinking this immense fun.

The Father (Anselm), seeing this, had pity on the bird, and breathed a wish that the string might break and restore it to liberty. And lo! the string breaks, the bird flies away, the boy weeps, the Father rejoices. Calling us, he then said: 'Did you notice the boy's game? . . . In like manner the devil plays with many men, whom he nets in his snares, and leads into diverse sins according to his will . . . when they fly away they are drawn back into the same vices . . . nor can they be freed unless by a great effort, and by the grace of God, the string of evil habit is broken.'

* William of Malmesbury.

ROBERT OF BELESME, THE CRUEL TYRANT.

IN the stirring days of the early twelfth century, days of reckless crime and unbridled passions, there lived one man so unequalled in wickedness that he was remembered as 'Robert the Devil,' while his name passed into a proverb, and 'the wonders of Robert of Belesme' became a common saying.

Robert, lord of Montgomery and Belesme, Count of Ponthieu, Earl of Shrewsbury, and lord of Arundel and Tickhill, was an excellent example of the Anglo-Norman baron at his worst, an example of the hideousness of power untempered by justice or mercy, of authority unchecked by sense of responsibility.

Yet the life which closed in disgrace and misery opened with bright hopes. Tall and strong, a brave, skilful soldier, quick-witted and ready of speech, a favourite with the Conqueror, who knighted him with his own hand, Robert seemed born to wealth and honour. His father, Roger of Montgomery, was rewarded for his share in the Conquest of England by a grant of the border-earldom of Shrewsbury, with the lordship of Arundel in Sussex. His mother, Mabel of Belesme, was one of the richest heiresses of Normandy; his wife was the only child of the Count of Ponthieu.

But the sons of the House of Belesme inherited with

their vast possessions a temper so cruel and treacherous that it might make 'even demons to shudder.' Robert's mother was murdered by some of the many men she had wronged. His wife fled from the husband who left her to pine in a dungeon. In the revolt of the Conqueror's discontented heir in 1078, Robert himself sided with the rebels against his king and benefactor. Nine years later, when the news of William's death spread through Normandy, the lord of Belesme turned the ducal garrisons out of his Norman castles, and prepared to plunder and ravage at will. But, in common with most of the nobles on both sides of the Channel, he did not wish Normandy to be separated from England, and he supported the claim of Robert to the English throne; for Robert, brave, generous, and eloquent, but too easy-going and weak-willed to be a ruler of men, would have made a king after the barons' own heart, while they feared the resolute, ambitious William Rufus, who had been crowned King of England on his father's death. Early in 1088 'there was a great stir' in England, because 'the richest Frenchmen in the land would betray their lord the king, and would have to king his brother Robert.' The leader of the revolt was Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, released from the prison in which the Conqueror had kept him. Duke Robert sent over Eustace of Boulogne, son of Godwine's old enemy, and Robert of Belesme, and they, with Belesme's two brothers, made Rochester their headquarters. Meanwhile the North rose under William, Bishop of Durham, the East under Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and the West under Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances. Roger of Montgomery, Belesme's father, sent his troops to help the rebels, and the Welsh joined the rising. The West-country was harried, and the city

of Bath was burnt. But old Bishop Wulfstan saved the town and castle of Worcester for the king, and Rufus himself won over Roger of Montgomery to his side, and, supported by the English 'fyrd,' took Bishop Odo's mound-fort of Tonbridge, besieged the Bishop in his castle of Pevensey, and forced him to surrender, while the English beat off the fleet which Robert of Normandy had sent to the help of the rebels. The revolt now centred in the city of Rochester. When Odo in person commanded the garrison to surrender, the besieged soldiers sallied forth and made him a willing prisoner. But Normans and English flocked to the help of the king. The city was blockaded by two wooden towers. Famine and pestilence did their work, and soon the trumpets were sounding merrily, as Odo of Bayeux, Eustace of Boulogne, Robert of Belesme and his brothers marched out amidst the jeers of the royal troops, who cried for 'halters, halters, for the traitor bishop and his accomplices!'

Belesme now deserted Duke Robert, and became a partisan of the English king and his brother Henry. In the autumn of 1088, when he landed with Henry in Normandy, they were seized and imprisoned by order of the duke. Thereupon, Robert of Belesme's father, Roger of Shrewsbury, crossed the sea to avenge his son. In the war which followed, fortune was turning in the duke's favour, when, weary of strife, he gave up the cause and released the prisoners.

The next ten years (1088-1098) were spent by Robert of Belesme in Normandy amidst scenes of anarchy and bloodshed, in which he gave full rein to his savage nature. The indolence of Duke Robert and the ambition of William Rufus, who sought to win the duchy for himself, gave the nobles their opportunity.

The land was filled with castles, and every castle was a den of thieves and robbers, who lived by plundering the surrounding country. Petty private wars amongst these turbulent barons were carried on under the shadow of the greater wars between the duke and the English king, or between Normandy and France.

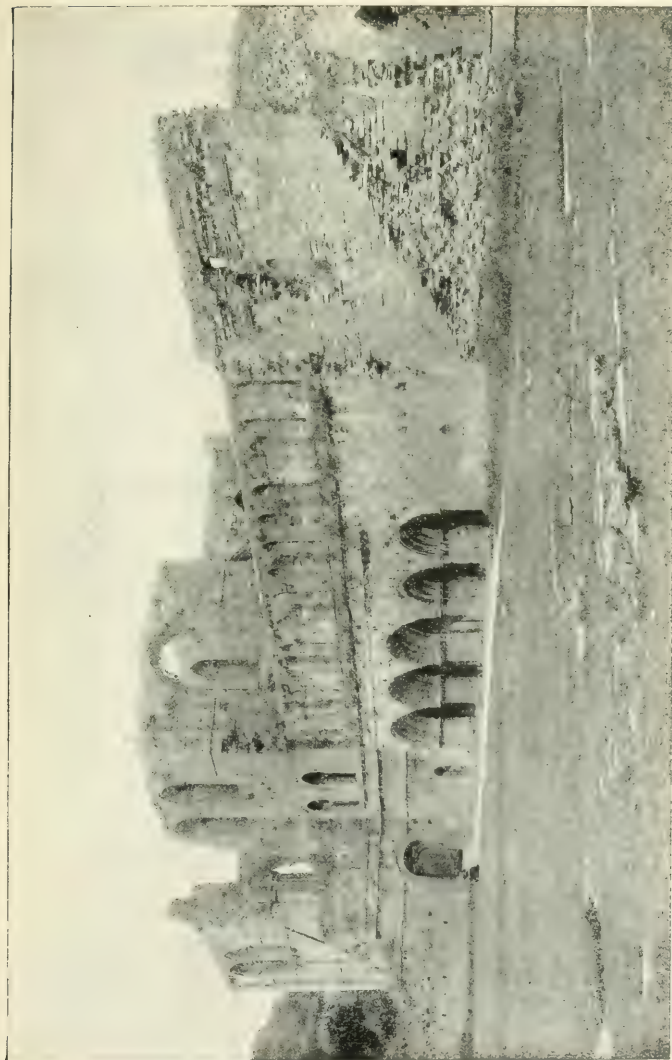
The struggle between Duke Robert and Rufus was ended in 1091 by the Treaty of Caen, only to be renewed in 1094. But in 1096 Robert went on Crusade and pledged the duchy to William, who soon found himself engaged in war with the King of France and with the Count of Maine, Hélié de la Flèche. In this last struggle Robert of Belesme played a leading part, for Hélié's dominions lay temptingly near to the lands of Belesme. Strengthened by the king's support, Robert overran Maine, building new fortresses and repairing old ones. From these strongholds he and his followers 'waged atrocious war.' Horrible tales are told of this period of his career—tales of burning and plunder, of poisoning and blinding, of cruelty to women and children, of the cold-blooded torture and starvation of hundreds of persons, for whom Robert would refuse ransom rather than be balked of the sight of their suffering.

Yet, for a while, Fortune seemed to smile on the wicked lord of Belesme. On the death of his brother Hugh, who had succeeded Roger of Montgomery, Rufus conferred the earldom of Shrewsbury on Robert on payment of a 'relief' of three thousand pounds, while he was further strengthened by the grant of the Yorkshire lordship of Tickhill, or Blyth. When, in 1100, the Red King was slain, and Henry, the youngest son of the Conqueror, seized the English throne, the new Earl of Shrewsbury was foremost among those who

advised Robert of Normandy to assert his claims by force of arms, and in the summer of 1101, when the duke invaded England, Robert of Belesme was found among his adherents. The support of the Church and of the English people gave Henry an army, and negotiation between the brothers ended in a general reconciliation.

But though immediate punishment did not fall on the faithless Earl of Shrewsbury, Henry was only biding his time in order to strike the more surely. Spies were set to watch Robert's actions, and at Easter, 1102, he was summoned before the Great Council, to answer no less than forty-five charges.

Robert, not unnaturally, hesitated to obey. He fled to his western strongholds, and met a second summons with open defiance. Both sides now prepared for a trial of strength. Robert held Arundel in Sussex, Tickhill in Yorkshire, Bridgenorth and Shrewsbury in Shropshire, and his castle of Careghova on the Welsh border. On the Continent, the death of his father-in-law had added the county of Ponthieu to his possessions. His brothers, Roger of Poitou and Arnulf of Pembroke, supported him. The Welsh brought him troops, while Ireland and even Norway were appealed to for help. Henry, meanwhile, stirred up Duke Robert to attack the Belesme estates in Normandy, and himself called out the 'fyrd' and besieged Arundel. Two wooden towers were built to watch the castle, and soon the garrison, after vainly seeking help from their lord, submitted, with his consent, to the king. The surrender of Tickhill followed, and Henry was free to turn to the western centres of revolt. The earl himself was at Shrewsbury, the Welsh hovered near, and three chosen captains held Bridgenorth, the fortified town on the cliff above the Severn, where Ethelflæd, Lady of the



FURNESS ABBEY (CISTERCIAN).

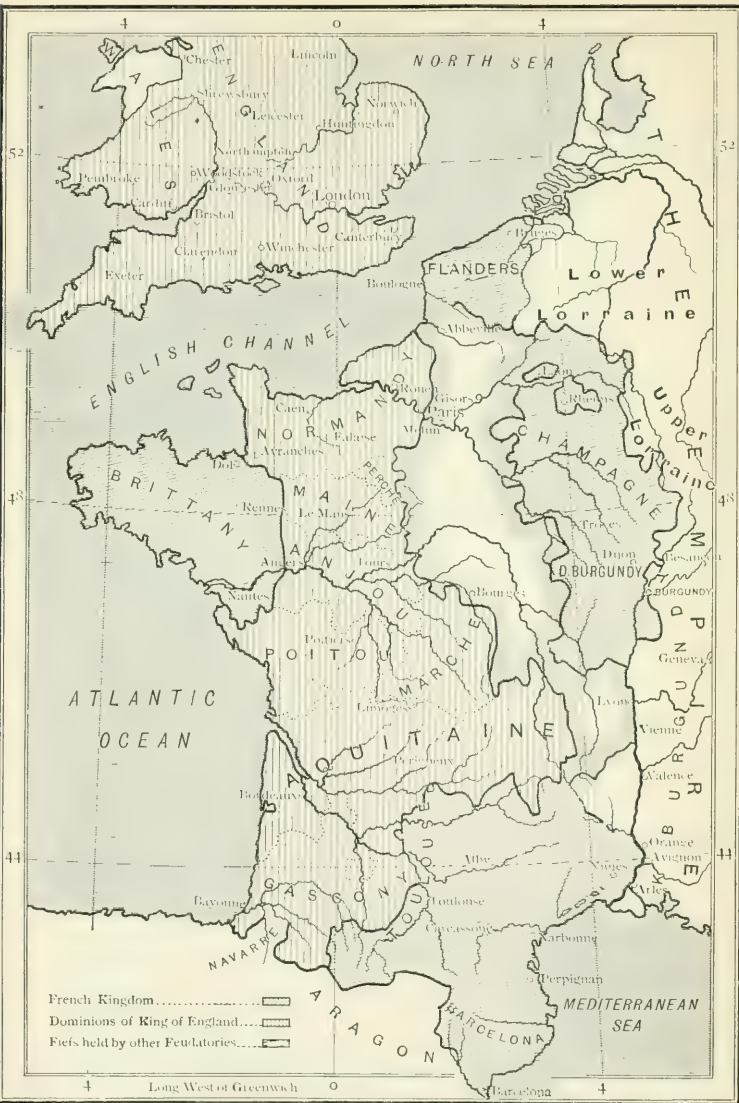
Founded by King Stephen 1124. Transferred to present site 1127.

Photoduprint Co., Ltd.

Mercians, had raised her 'burh.' Earl Robert, with the engineering skill for which he was famous, had strengthened the natural defences of the place by the square tower of which the ruins still command the river. When the English forces gathered against the fortress in the autumn of 1102, the great men in the army, fearing lest the fate which threatened Robert of Belesme should overtake them all in turn, urged Henry to come to terms with the rebels. Then, as they spoke together, a shout went up from a body of soldiers on a neighbouring hill. 'Trust not those traitors, lord king,' they cried; 'we stand by you faithfully. Make no peace with the traitor till you have him alive or dead!' This counsel of the rank and file prevailed. The siege was pressed, the Welsh were bribed to desert Robert, the rebel leaders and the townsmen of Bridgenorth were induced by threats and promises to surrender. The mercenary soldiers in the town still held out, but they were overpowered, and the royal troops, bearing the king's standard, took triumphant possession of the stronghold. Henry now marched on Shrewsbury with his whole army. Robert of Belesme groaned aloud in despair when he heard that Bridgenorth had been taken, and that no help from the Irish or the Norwegians was to be expected. Further resistance seemed hopeless, and ambassadors from the earl met the king to ask for peace. But Henry insisted on Robert's unconditional surrender. Utterly humiliated, the haughty leader came forth, handed the keys of Shrewsbury to the king, and confessed himself a traitor. He was suffered to depart unharmed with his horses and arms, but his English estates and those of his brothers were forfeited. 'All England rejoiced at the banishment of the cruel tyrant,

saying: "Rejoice, King Henry, and give thanks to the Lord God, for you began to rule indeed when you conquered Robert of Belesme and drove him from your realm."

The exiled earl returned to Normandy, to find that, in his distress, all his old enemies sided with Duke Robert against him. A savage struggle resulted in the defeat of the duke, and the restoration of Robert of Belesme to his former possessions. But this restoration added to the confusion in the duchy, and offended Henry of England, to whom the Normans were beginning to look for help. By 1105 the duke was at war with his brother, and Belesme was sent to England to arrange a reconciliation. In 1106, at the Battle of Tenchebrai, Duke Robert was taken prisoner and consigned to lifelong captivity. Robert of Belesme, who commanded a division of the duke's army in the battle, saved himself by flight; but Henry could afford to be merciful, and the arch-rebel was pardoned, though the unlicensed castles which he had built in Normandy were destroyed. But his cup of iniquity was almost full. In the quarrels with France and Anjou, in which Henry soon found himself involved, Robert played the traitor for the last time, and joined the party of William 'Clito,' Duke Robert's son. Henry's patience was at an end. In 1112, when Robert of Belesme ventured into his presence as ambassador from the French king, he was seized, tried on an old charge, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. In the Dorsetshire castle of Wareham he dragged out the remainder of his days, with none to pity or regret his fall. 'He who had tormented others in prison perished by the slow agony of a perpetual prison . . . and no man knew of the day of his death.'



ENGLAND AND FRANCE AT THE ACCESSION OF HENRY II.

HENRY II., PLANTAGENET.

(1133—1189.)

IT is recorded by the chronicler Roger of Hoveden that in the year 1135 Henry I., King of England, summoned the prelates, earls, and barons throughout his dominions to swear fealty to his destined successors—his daughter Matilda, Countess of Anjou, widow of the Emperor Henry V., and her baby son, ‘Henry Fitz-Empress.’

The child thus early introduced to the cares of State was born to a goodly heritage. Through his mother he was heir to the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the county of Maine. His father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, was Count of Anjou and Touraine. The blood of the West-Saxon kings, of the Norman Wickings, and of the ‘demon-race’ of the Angevin counts, mingled in the veins of the little Henry, a boy of passionate temper, adventurous spirit, and imperious will. His early years were passed amidst stirring scenes. When, in December, 1135, Henry I. died, his nephew, Stephen of Blois, found little difficulty in seizing the English throne; for vows of fealty sat lightly on the nobles, and the haughty Matilda and her foreign husband were unpopular with the people. Normandy, too, unwilling to be ruled from Anjou, was divided in its allegiance.

But Stephen alienated his subjects by his imprudence, and ruined his own cause by imprisoning the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, and thus turning the Church, his faithful ally, into his bitter foe. In 1139 the six-year-old Henry saw his mother set sail for England with her half-brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to press her claims by force of arms. In 1141 he followed her, and while England was torn by civil war, the boy who lived to give her such 'good peace' as never was before, was learning knightly accomplishments in his Uncle Robert's stronghold of Bristol, and longing, doubtless, for the day when he should be old enough to strike a blow for the recovery of his inheritance. When he was about thirteen he returned to Normandy, where his father was rapidly winning back the duchy.

In 1147 he led an unsuccessful expedition into England, and two years later he was knighted at Carlisle by his great-uncle, David, King of Scots. Meanwhile, Robert of Gloucester had died, and Matilda had abandoned the struggle for the English crown; but Normandy had submitted to Geoffrey Plantagenet, and in 1151 the Norman nobles did homage to Henry as their duke. Soon afterwards, by his father's death, he became Count of Anjou, and in 1152 his marriage with Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of the French king, Louis VII., extended his power to the Pyrenees. Strengthened by this alliance, Henry invaded England in 1153, and was eagerly welcomed by his mother's partisans. The war was renewed, but the death of Stephen's eldest son, Eustace, removed one obstacle to the conclusion of peace, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother, pitying the miserable condition of

the people, did their utmost to mediate between the combatants. By the end of 1153 the Treaty of Wallingford was drawn up, by which Henry promised to leave Stephen in possession of the throne till his death, while Stephen adopted Henry as his heir. Order was to be restored to the kingdom by the destruction of unlicensed castles, the disbanding of the armies, and the restoration of agriculture and commerce. The king was to resume the alienated crown-lands and the royal rights which the barons had usurped, the clergy were to have peace and freedom from excessive taxation, and the office of sheriff was to be revived and regulated. Well might the English chronicler declare that all men loved Henry, 'for that he did good justice and made peace.' The reforms were begun at once; but Henry returned to Anjou early in 1154, and was still absent when, towards the close of the year, Stephen died. The last entry in the Peterborough Chronicle tells how, when the young Count of Anjou 'to England came, then was he received with mickle' (*great*) 'worship, and blessed to king in London.'

Thus at the age of twenty-one Henry was one of the mightiest princes of Western Europe, lord of England and of more than half France, 'King of the English, Duke of the Normans, Count of Anjou, and Duke of Aquitaine.' But the very extent of his dominions made it more difficult to govern them, and necessitated a more elaborate system of administration.

In England the first thing to be done was to undo the results of Stephen's reign by carrying out the Treaty of Wallingford. The royal lands which had been alienated by Stephen were resumed; those 'dens of thieves,' the unlicensed castles which had sprung up during the civil war, were destroyed; the older



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KEEP OF ROCHESTER CASTLE, TWELFTH CENTURY, SHOWING
'NORMAN' ARCHITECTURE.

fortresses were surrendered to the king or reduced by force; the mercenary troops were disbanded, and

‘vanished like ghosts.’ ‘The rapacious wolves,’ wrote a contemporary chronicler, ‘fled, or were changed into sheep . . . the swords were beaten into ploughshares, and the spears into pruning-hooks.’

The work of restoration was completed. It remained to prevent a recurrence of the anarchy of the past nineteen years. The chief royal rights which the feudatories had usurped in the civil war were military, financial, and judicial. They had built and garrisoned castles, coined money, and held courts ‘in royal fashion.’ Their military and financial power had been checked by the Wallingford reforms. Henry now resolved to check their judicial power, and to extend the authority of the ‘King’s Court’ (*Curia Regis*) till there was but one system of law and justice throughout his kingdom.

He began by making the special Church courts subordinate to the King’s Court, and though the regulation of ecclesiastical justice, by the ‘Constitutions of Clarendon’ in 1164, led to a serious quarrel with Thomas Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, he turned undeterred to the regulation of baronial justice. The feudatories had their own courts of justice, in which they tried their tenants for small offences, and received the fines paid by wrongdoers. But if a man committed a great crime, he was tried by the royal justices, and his goods were forfeited to the king. Under Stephen the feudatories had encroached on the king’s judicial rights. Henry’s first care, then, was to reorganize the administration of the king’s criminal jurisdiction. He sent ‘itinerant’ or ‘travelling’ justices through the kingdom to hear criminal cases in the shire-courts, and in 1166 he issued the ‘Assize’ or ordinance of Clarendon, to instruct these justices and

the sheriffs in their work. When the justices came round, the full shire-court was to be summoned to meet them, and twelve men from every 'hundred' in the shire, with four from every 'township' or village, were to 'present' or accuse all murderers, thieves, and robbers in their district. The men thus accused were produced by the sheriff, and sent to the ordeal of fire or water. This kind of trial was really an appeal to God to show the guilt or innocence of the accused. After a solemn service in church, the accused man was either thrown into cold water, or made to plunge his arm into boiling water, or to hold red-hot iron. If, in the first case, he floated, it was said that the pure water rejected him, and he was accounted guilty. If the hot water scalded him, or the iron scorched him, he was similarly held to be guilty. Persons of very bad character, even if they passed safely through the ordeal, were, by the Assize of Clarendon, to be banished from England. Thus the presenters, the 'jury' of presentment as they are often called, because they took an oath (*juramentum*), were simply accusers, while the king's justices merely gave sentence according to law. The *trial* consisted in an appeal to the judgment of God. But the system of 'presentment' was very good, for it brought the 'king's justice' into the country villages, made neighbours responsible for one another, and taught the English people, as Edgar had taught them long before, to take a share in the work of government. Moreover, since the Assize of Clarendon provided that no feudatory, however powerful, might neglect to attend the full shire-court, or exclude the king's sheriffs from his fief, it helped to check the tendency of the great nobles to usurp the royal rights over criminals. The old system of suretyship, or 'frankpledge,' was also preserved,

whereby every man was compelled to have 'pledges,' or sureties, who would answer for him in the courts of justice, testify to his character if necessary, and see that he did not escape the punishment of his misdeeds, while all men were bound, when the 'hue and cry' was raised, to join in the pursuit of thieves and murderers.

But Henry was not content with having as much power as his ancestors. He tried to draw into his court not only criminal cases, but the civil cases which had usually been tried in the lords' courts. These cases, in which no crime had been committed, but in which disputes, generally about property, had arisen, were decided by 'trial by battle,' which was also used in criminal cases, and was, like the ordeal, an appeal to God to declare the truth by letting the guilty be defeated. The two disputants fought with special weapons and according to specified rules, and the one who was defeated lost his cause. But men were beginning to feel that this was a clumsy fashion of settling quarrels, and Henry took advantage of this feeling to introduce a new way of deciding such questions, trial by 'recognition,' or 'jury.' In this, as in the jury of presentment, the witness of a man's neighbours was relied on to prove the truth or falsehood of his claim. A number of men called 'recognitors,' because they 'recognized' the truth, or 'jurors,' because they were sworn, came together from the neighbourhood in which the disputed property lay, and declared upon oath which claimant had the best right. The new method became popular, and was used in many different ways. It strengthened the king's power considerably, for it could only be used in the royal courts, by the king's command signified through a 'writ' or 'writing,' drawn up by the king's

clerks. In 1170 Henry further weakened the baronage by holding an inquiry into the conduct of the sheriffs, deposing most of them, and appointing in their stead men who would carry out his ideas.

While these peaceful reforms were being effected in England, the quarrel with Becket had widened into a European controversy, which complicated Henry's foreign policy, but did not prevent him from steadily pursuing his main end, the consolidation and unification of his dominions.

He was now in the prime of life, full of strength and nervous energy, fiery-faced, bull-necked and bandy-legged, with a muscular but clumsy figure, a large head, reddish hair, and grey, protruding eyes—a man of wide ambitions, varied talents, and practical sagacity, but hasty, violent and self-willed. His marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine had brought him little happiness, and his children learnt to fear rather than to love the father, who, in spite of his affection for them, used them for political ends, and married them with scant regard for their wishes, to suit his schemes of foreign alliance. By 1170 his two elder daughters, Matilda and Eleanor, were the wives of the Duke of Saxony and the King of Castile, while the youngest, Joanna, was betrothed to the King of Sicily, and the future of three out of his four sons was already mapped out. Henry II. seems to have aimed at ruling his vast dominions as overlord, with his sons as provincial governors. Henry, the eldest, was to be associated with his father in the kingship, and to govern Normandy and Anjou; Richard was to have his mother's lands of Poitou and Aquitaine; and Geoffrey was to marry the heiress of Brittany, and to succeed to the duchy. As early as 1158 the three-year-old Henry was betrothed to

Margaret, the baby daughter of Louis VII. of France. Two years later the children were married, and the Vexin, the borderland between France and Normandy, was settled on the little bride as her dowry, while in 1162 the barons of England did homage to the young Henry as joint-king with his father. Then came the quarrel with Becket, and the young king was not crowned till the summer of 1170.

The Archbishop's murder, followed by the Papal absolution, set Henry II. free to resume his former plans. Richard was enthroned as Duke of Aquitaine, the young king was crowned a second time with his wife, and John, the youngest of the royal children, was betrothed to the heiress of Maurienne in Savoy.

But Henry's proposal to endow the little bridegroom with some of the Angevin lands lighted the flame of feudal revolt. The barons on both sides of the Channel had indeed cause for discontent. Their power, military, judicial, and political, was directly threatened by Henry's policy. He had placed his garrisons in their castles; he had taken 'scutage,' or a money-tax, instead of military service from their tenants, and feudal 'aids' and fines from themselves; he had made strict inquiry into the amount of 'knight-service' due from them, and had resumed crown-lands which they had usurped. They saw their judicial authority weakened by the Assize of Clarendon, and their official dignity lowered by the Inquest of Sheriffs, and the king's employment of 'new men' as ministers. The discontent of many years now took shape in a formidable coalition. It included most of the great nobles, English and Norman, the Earls of Chester, Leicester, and Norfolk, the descendants of the houses of Mowbray, Eu, and Belesme, the barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, the king's sons Henry, Richard,

and Geoffrey, the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois, and the kings of France and Scotland. Supported by Louis of France, young Henry refused to allow John a provision, demanded from his father Normandy, England, or Anjou, where he and his wife might reign as a true king and queen, and then, early in 1173, fled to the French Court, followed by Richard and Geoffrey.

The war began in Normandy. The rebels had some success, but Henry captured the Earl of Chester, and by the close of the year a truce was concluded. In October, 1173, the Earl of Leicester invaded England with a force of Flemings, and was joined by the Earl of Norfolk. The Justiciar De Lucy and the Constable Humphrey de Bohun marched against them, and the country people turned out in force, armed with 'forks and flails,' to slay the hated Flemish 'weavers,' who had come, they said, to seize the English wool. The invaders were defeated at Fornham in Suffolk, and the Earl and Countess of Leicester were taken prisoners. The year 1174 began with a Scottish invasion of Northumberland, and plunder-raids in the East of England, where the rebels ravaged Northampton, Norwich, and Nottingham. Meanwhile, the Count of Flanders and the young king were threatening England with invasion, and the elder King Henry, who had been reducing Poitou, felt that his presence was needed. Crossing to England, he hastened to Canterbury, walked barefooted to the tomb of Becket, and with tears and prayers submitted to be scourged by the monks. A week later, a messenger from the North brought the news that the Yorkshire 'fyrd,' under the sheriffs Ralph Glanvill and Robert de Stuteville, had captured William the Lion, King of Scots, as he sported with his knights outside

the castle of Alnwick. 'Then the king rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God and the blessed martyr Thomas.' The revolt was, in fact, practically at an end. When Henry marched eastwards the rebel leaders surrendered their castles. Before the summer was over the king could return to Normandy and raise the siege of Rouen.

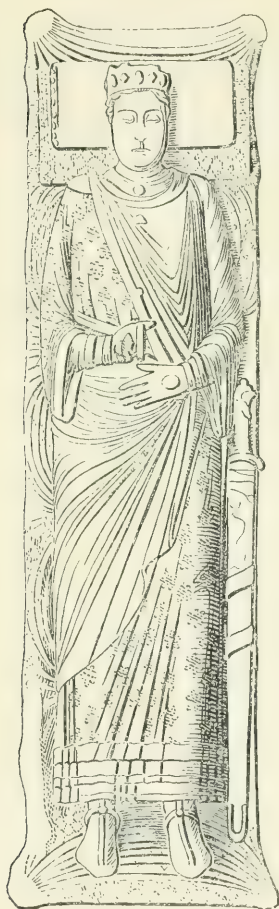
In September, 1174, peace was arranged between Henry and his sons, and by the Treaty of Falaise, some months later, William the Lion was set at liberty, on condition of holding his dominions as a vassal of the King of England.

The rebellion of 1173-1174 was 'the last feudal revolt of the great nobles.' The Angevin king had proved, as his Norman and West-Saxon predecessors proved before him, the strength that lay in the support of the Church, the English people, and the official class. Once more the 'fyrd,' the towns, the sheriffs, and the Justiciar had saved the monarchy.

Henry was merciful to his fallen foes, but he seized their castles in England and Normandy, and extended his policy of balancing 'feudalism,' or the rule of the landlords, by an alternative system. In 1176 the Assize of Northampton expanded the Assize of Clarendon. In 1181 the Assize of Arms reorganized the 'fyrd,' and ordered freemen of all ranks to provide themselves with arms in proportion to their wealth. In 1184 the Assize of Woodstock regulated the forest jurisdiction. In these years, too, circuits of itinerant justices visited the shires, and the beginnings of a fixed Central Court of royal justice and finance may be traced. Henry, a born man of business, actively superintended the work of government, and often administered justice in person. The writers of the time give us a vivid

picture of the restless king, always on his feet or in the saddle, constantly changing his plans, and dragging his weary Court and household from one end of his dominions to the other. They tell how he would scribble and whisper during Mass, and how he would retire from public cares to study history and discuss knotty questions with the learned men who were always welcome at his Court. They praise his wit and eloquence, his prudence and liberality, his splendid buildings, his care for peace and justice. Soldier, sportsman, statesman, and scholar, Henry Fitz-Empress, in his keen delight in life, his zeal for knowledge, and the mingled roughness and refinement of his nature, was a typical son of his age, the brilliant, cruel, eager twelfth century.

In the years which immediately followed the rising of 1173-1174, Henry's power reached its height. Scotland was his vassal, Ireland his dependency, Wales his ally. On the Continent, he commanded the Channel



HENRY II.

(From his Effigy at Fontevault.)

coast from the Somme to the Pyrenees, and Toulouse had owned his overlordship since 1173. A provision was found for John, now betrothed to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, in the lordship of Ireland; and the young King of France, Philip Augustus, who succeeded Louis VII. in 1180, was at first willing enough to look to England for protection and counsel.

But by 1183 the young king Henry and Geoffrey of Brittany, with the rebellious nobles of Aquitaine, were in arms against their father and their brother Richard, and the young king's sudden death, followed in 1185 by the death of Geoffrey, raised fresh trouble, for Philip of France demanded the restoration of the Vexin, the dowry of his sister Margaret, and the marriage of Richard to his younger sister Alice, to whom he had been long betrothed, and claimed the wardship of Geoffrey's infant son Arthur; while Richard, now heir to the English throne, refused his father's request that he would give up Aquitaine to his brother John.

Desultory negotiations and fighting occupied the next few years, checked for a brief space in 1188, when the news of the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks reached Europe, and Richard Henry and Philip took the Cross. But even the danger of the Holy Land could not divert Philip from his ambitious schemes. He was soon again at war with Henry, and towards the close of the year, Richard, jealous, apparently, of his father's affection for John, joined his enemies. In January, 1189, Philip and Richard invaded Henry's territories. Maine was overrun, and Henry, almost deserted, fled from his birthplace, Le Mans, to the castle of Chinon on the Loire. Broken in health and spirit, he consented to a conference with Richard and

the French king. He renewed his homage to Philip, and promised that Richard should receive the fealty of the barons of his father's dominions, and should marry Alice on his return from the Crusade. 'Then, when the kings spake face to face,' says an English chronicler, 'the Lord thundered above them, and all men wondered, for the sky was cloudless.' Half fainting, Henry gave Richard the kiss of peace, accompanying it with bitter words of hate, and withdrew—to die.

All who had joined Richard were to remain in his service, and as Henry lay on his sick-bed, worn out with misery, he asked to have the names of these men read to him. First on the list was the name of his favourite son John, for whom he had suffered so much. 'Is it true,' cried the unhappy father, starting up, 'that John, my heart, whom I have loved more than all my sons, has deserted me?' When he knew that it was indeed true, he fell back, and turned his face to the wall. 'Now let all things go as they will,' he muttered with a groan; 'I care no more for myself or for the world.' Three days later, murmuring, 'Shame, shame on a conquered king!' he passed away at Chinon. His servants fled, after plundering the castle, and it was with difficulty that his faithful attendants, Geoffrey the Chancellor and William the Marshal, could prepare the body for its lying in state in the church of the nunnery of Fontevault. As, robed and crowned, the dead king lay on the bier, Richard strode up the aisle, stood without speaking by his father's side, and then knelt in prayer. 'But,' says the chronicler, alluding to the old tradition that a corpse bleeds in the presence of its murderer, 'blood flowed without ceasing from the nostrils of the king as long as his son remained in the church.'

Before the high altar the broken-hearted king was laid to rest, 'veiled among the veiled women,' as an ancient prophecy had foretold. Ten years later, Richard, on his death-bed directed that his body, in token of penitence, should be buried at his father's feet.

It was natural enough that men should see in the sudden and tragic fall of so mighty a king as Henry II. the judgment of God for his treatment of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He had rebelled against his spiritual father, and God punished him through the rebellion of his own sons. More truly, his misfortunes were traced to the wild strain in the Plantagenet blood, inherited, legend said, from a demon ancestress, and to the evil influence of Queen Eleanor.

Yet, though Henry's life closed in apparent failure, he remains one of the greatest of England's kings. His best work can never die, for it has been wrought into the fabric of the English Constitution, and though the fashion of government may change, the old material subsists, and the old spirit breathes through new forms. Though Henry II. was no Englishman, he had the English gift for adapting the institutions of the past to the needs of the present. In this lay his great merit. He was a Conservative reformer. The itinerant justices and the jury system were not new, but they were new as he used them. The shire-court and the hundred-court were very old, but their powers and activities were developed under the new system. The ideas that all men, however humble, should take some part in maintaining public order, and that king and people should work hand in hand for the common good, dated back to the very foundation of the united English kingdom; yet in these ideas lay the secret of the

strength of the English people, and in giving them new life and a wider interpretation Henry Fitz-Empress was carrying on the work of Alfred and William the Conqueror, and preparing the way for the work of Edward I.

SAINT THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, THE MARTYR.

(1118—1170.)

SOME fifteen years before Henry Fitz-Empress first saw the light at Le Mans, a child was born in a London home who was destined to supplant Archbishop Dunstan as the favourite saint of the English Church, and by the tragedy of his death to fill all Christendom with the fame of 'St. Thomas of Canterbury, the holy, blissful martyr.' The boy was called after St. Thomas, on whose festival (December 21) he was born and baptized. His parents were well-to-do London citizens of Norman origin, who had retired from business to live in comfort in Cheapside. His father, Gilbert, surnamed Becket, had been one of the sheriffs of London. His mother, Matilda, sometimes called Rose, was a devout woman, of whom we read that she was accustomed to weigh her baby from time to time against food, clothing, and money, which she then distributed to the poor. Later fantastic legend made Gilbert a Crusading knight, and Matilda the daughter of a Saracen emir, his captor, and told how, after his escape, the delicately-nurtured maiden for love of him braved untold dangers, and won her way to England, repeating her only word of English speech, 'London, London,' until she found him again and became his wife.

In sober fact, the little Thomas seems to have had a happy home, a tender mother, and a good upbringing. He began his education in the Priory of Merton, in Surrey, whence he passed to 'the schools of London.' Here he would doubtless join with the other scholars in the public recitations and competitions in verse-making and grammar which were held on high days and holy days. On Shrove Tuesday he would bring his fighting-cock to school for the yearly cock-fight, and in the afternoon he would play football outside the city, while the grave burghers watched the sport.

In after-days, when Thomas had become famous, wonderful stories were told of his youth—of visions and prophecies and favour shown to him by the Virgin Mary, to whose worship he was specially devoted. He seems to have been a boy of singular charm, handsome, quick-witted, and sweet-tempered, diligent in study, needing only to read his lessons through to remember them, but fond of field sports, of horses, dogs, and hawks, and the pleasures of country life. From London he was sent to complete his studies in the famous schools of Paris. On his return, troubles gathered about him. His mother died, his father was impoverished by the constant fires which broke out among the wooden London houses, and Thomas had to earn his living. He entered into the service of a certain Osbern Huit-deniers (*Eightpenny*), and either under him, or as clerk to the sheriffs of London, he gained his first experience of practical life, during those stormy times of King Stephen, in which the London citizens played a leading part.

Somewhat later, Thomas was received into the household of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, an excellent school of manners and of training in

practical wisdom. He studied law in the great Italian law-school of Bologna, and on his return he was appointed Archdeacon of Canterbury. When in 1154 Henry Fitz-Empress became King of England, Theobald, who had done much to help him to the throne, introduced Thomas to his notice, and Henry 'turned a loving heart' to the archdeacon, and gave him the post of Chancellor.

The Chancellor was the king's chief chaplain and secretary, and keeper of the royal seal. As a member of the supreme courts of justice and finance, the King's Court (*Curia Regis*), and its offshoot the Exchequer, much important work fell to his share. He had to draw up and seal the king's writs, to seal charters, to act as itinerant justice in the shires, and to help the king to administer justice in the Central Court. The revenues of vacant bishoprics and abbacies were entrusted to him, and twice a year he, with the other great officers of state, sat at the 'chequered' table at Westminster, whence the Exchequer derived its name, while the sheriffs came up from the counties to render their accounts, and to make their half-yearly payments into the royal Treasury.

Thomas probably helped Henry to carry out the Treaty of Wallingford, and to restore order to England. He and the king became fast friends, and even amidst the pressure of public cares they found time for the outdoor sports which they both loved, and for much light-hearted fun and gaiety. They 'played together like boys of the same age.' Once, as they rode through the streets of London, Henry snatched the Chancellor's fur-trimmed scarlet cloak from his shoulders, and, in spite of his struggles, threw it to a shivering beggar, while the courtiers shouted with laughter at this un-

willing act of charity. Often the king would ride into the Chancellor's hall as he sat at dinner, or, bow in hand, would look in from his hunting and drink a cup with his friend, or, vaulting over the table, would seat himself at the board and share the meal. Thomas was, indeed, renowned for his liberality and the splendour of his household. In all social matters the Chancellor was more a king than his master. He kept open house for rich and poor. His banqueting-hall was daily strewn with straw and hay in winter, and with green boughs or rushes in summer, that the guests for whom there was no room on the benches might not soil their fine clothes as they sat on the floor. His table groaned with good cheer, and glittered with gold and silver vessels. The sons of the nobles and the little heir to the throne were entrusted to his care to be trained in knightly accomplishments. He could take the field with seven hundred knights of his own household. He had six or more ships, where the king had but one. When he went to France to negotiate the marriage of the little prince Henry with Margaret, the French king's daughter, he travelled in royal state, with two hundred mounted knights, squires, clerks, and attendants, with dogs and hawks, a string of horses, each with a monkey on its back and a groom in attendance, and a train of waggons laden with silks and furs, gold and silver, costly food, and barrels of English beer, 'of the colour of wine, but of a pleasanter taste.' Well might the French exclaim: 'If this is the Chancellor, wonderful indeed must be the King of the English!'

In 1159, when France and England went to war over Queen Eleanor's rights to the overlordship of the County of Toulouse, Thomas put on armour, and proved him-

self a valiant soldier, storming fortresses at the head of his men, and in the Norman campaign of the same year he maintained a large body of mercenaries at his own cost.

The Chancellor had served Henry II. so well in secular business that he determined to make him the instrument of his ecclesiastical reforms, and when Theobald died, the king procured the election of Thomas to the archbishopric of Canterbury, though he was only in deacon's orders. In vain did the clergy protest that the fighting, sporting Chancellor would be a wolf in the fold; in vain did Thomas himself, pointing to his gay clothes, rally Henry on 'the holy man he was minded to place in so high a seat,' and warn him that if he became archbishop their friendship would turn to hatred. Henry persisted, and in the summer of 1162 the Chancellor was elected, ordained priest, and consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

The ecclesiastical reforms which Henry had at heart were part of his general scheme of judicial organization. He was resolved to be supreme in Church and State, and to bring all special courts, whether ecclesiastical or baronial, under the general authority of the King's Court. The power of the Church in England had increased rapidly during the troubled reign of Stephen, and the ecclesiastical courts had drawn to themselves a vast amount of business since the Conqueror's Ordinance had separated them from the secular courts. In particular, they claimed to try all 'clerks,' a term which included all men in the service of the Church—acolytes, choristers, and sacristans, as well as priests and deacons. Thus large numbers of persons were exempted from the royal jurisdiction, while, since the Church courts could not pronounce sentence of death or mutilation, many

grave offences were insufficiently punished, and crime grew apace among the clergy.

Henry, then, set himself to check ecclesiastical encroachment, as he had checked baronial aggression, and looked to the archbishop for support. But with his consecration Thomas had 'put off the Chancellor,' and had become 'a new man.' He renounced worldly pleasures, wore a hair-shirt under his robes, and was earnest in penance, prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. Each day he washed the feet of thirteen poor men, and fed more than a hundred at his table. His hospitality was as splendid as ever, but graver and more stately. Knights and laymen sat apart and laughed and jested among themselves, while the clergy and learned men gathered about the archbishop, as he sparingly ate of the 'fair and varied dishes' set before him, or listened to the words of a holy book read aloud by his cross-bearer.

With this zeal for righteousness went a determination to uphold the rights of the Church at all costs. He resigned the chancellorship and busied himself with the affairs of his see, offending the courtiers by recovering church lands which had been alienated to laymen. For a while his friendship with the king stood the strain of their changed relations, but in 1163 came the inevitable rupture. The first serious disagreement was on a constitutional question—the payment of the 'sheriff's aid,' a sort of rate raised locally for the sheriff's services, which the king wished to have paid, like a royal tax, straight into the Exchequer. Soon afterwards the archbishop infringed the Conqueror's 'customs' by excommunicating a tenant-in-chief of the Crown without the king's leave.

But the real struggle was to come over the question

of criminal clerks. Several flagrant cases had recently occurred, when, in October, 1163, Henry brought the subject before a Great Council at Westminster. He took his stand on the ancient English customs, and demanded that after a clerk had been convicted of crime in an ecclesiastical court, and degraded from his office, he should be surrendered to the king's officers, and punished as a layman. Such, he argued, was the old custom, and it would be a new kind of law and holiness to allow clerks to protect themselves by the privileges of their order from the consequences of crimes which disturbed the peace of the kingdom and violated the king's justice. The archbishop, in his reply, showed himself a true disciple of Hildebrand. Clerks, he said, by virtue of ordination, were above earthly kings, and under the King of Heaven alone. It was unseemly for the hands which had performed the sacrifice of the Mass to be bound like those of a thief, for the head which had been anointed with holy oil to droop on the shameful gallows. Moreover, the king's 'customs' were contrary to the Canon Law, or Law of the Church, which was observed in ecclesiastical courts. Thus the archbishop pleaded for the liberties of the clergy, and the king for the peace of the people, but the prelates would only accept the customs 'saving their order,' and Henry angrily dismissed the assembly. Several bishops, however, submitted shortly afterwards, and the archbishop promised to observe the customs. But when, in a Great Council held at Clarendon, near Salisbury, the king called on him publicly to repeat his consent, he complied with many misgivings. Henry then appointed a committee of nobles to find out, or 'recognize,' the 'ancient customs, liberties, and dignities of his ancestors.' After nine days' deliberation, they

produced a list of sixteen articles, known as the 'Constitutions of Clarendon.' These articles repeated the rule against unlicensed excommunication of royal tenants-in-chief, forbade clergy to leave the realm without the king's leave, provided for the election of bishops and abbots on the lines laid down in 1107, regulated questions concerning presentations to livings, churches on the king's fiefs, and the trial of laymen in ecclesiastical courts, and forbade the ordination of the sons of villeins without their lord's leave. They checked appeals to Rome by decreeing that ecclesiastical appeals should go from the archdeacon to the bishop, then to the archbishop, then to the king, and no further without leave from the king. And, most important of all, they declared that criminal clerks should be accused in the royal court, tried in the ecclesiastical courts in the presence of royal officials, and, if convicted, handed over to the secular arm after degradation from their sacred office.

The archbishop, after contesting each article, gave an unwilling assent to the Constitutions as a whole, but as he rode away from the Council he bitterly reproached himself for his weakness, and he at once sent to ask forgiveness of the Pope. An opportunity for atonement soon arose. The Constitutions were issued in January, 1164. In October, John, the king's Marshal, who had a claim against the archbishop, appealed to the king's court, and Henry summoned Thomas before the Great Council at Northampton. Instead of receiving a special summons, as a great baron, he was cited to appear by the sheriff, and this insult was evidently only the prelude to his complete disgrace. He was fined for delay in obeying the summons, though illness had detained him. Old

claims against him were revived, and finally he was called on to render a full account of the revenues of the vacant sees and baronies which had been entrusted to his keeping as Chancellor, and this although he had been released from all secular obligations when he became archbishop. The bishops vainly tried to soften Henry or to induce Thomas to yield. The archbishop threatened to appeal to Rome if the bishops took part in his trial, and ordered them to excommunicate any layman who should dare to judge him. On the appointed day of trial, after celebrating the Mass of St. Stephen, the first martyr, he entered the hall of council, bearing his archbishop's cross, 'like the standard-bearer of the Lord in the Lord's battle.' The bishops, irritated by his attitude, fell away from him. The Bishop of London openly called him a fool. He sat alone, save for two faithful disciples, in the great hall, while the king deliberated with the bishops and barons in a room above. The archbishop was bidden to withdraw his appeal to Rome and his commands to the bishops as contrary to the Constitutions of Clarendon, and to submit to the judgment of the king's court. When he refused, the king burst into an ungovernable fit of fury. It was decided to summon Thomas before the Pope for perjury, while the barons passed sentence on him for contempt of the king's jurisdiction.

But when the Justiciar entered the hall to pronounce judgment, the archbishop sprang to his feet. 'Judgment!' he cried. 'Neither law nor reason allows sons to judge or condemn their father! I refuse the king's judgment, for, under God, I am accountable to the lord Pope alone, and to him I appeal.' Then, grasping his cross, he strode from the hall amid cries

of 'Traitor, traitor!' As he rode away, the poor people thronged about him to ask his blessing. That night, under cover of darkness, accompanied by two monks and a squire, he fled from Northampton, and, after many adventures, succeeded in reaching Flanders, whence he passed into France to appeal to the Pope, then at Sens. The king's representatives had arrived before him, and the Constitutions of Clarendon were laid before the Pope, and, after full discussion, all but six of the articles were condemned.

The archbishop's quarrel now became a part of European politics. His cause was taken up by the King of France, and by all the enemies of England. To the Pope, Alexander III., the breach between the English king and primate was a source of great embarrassment, for at this time there was a schism in the Papacy, and Henry II. had allied himself with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who supported the anti-Pope. Afraid of driving the King of England into the opposite camp, yet fearing to offend his patron, Louis VII. of France, and anxious to uphold the rights of the Church, Alexander halted miserably between two opinions. Meanwhile, Henry seized the archbishop's property, and banished his kinsfolk and dependents, and Thomas poured forth threats, entreaties, and excommunications from the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny in Burgundy. For six years the weary quarrel dragged on. Then, in 1170, the crisis came with the coronation of the 'young king' Henry by the Archbishop of York. This offended both the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose rights were infringed, and the King of France, whose daughter had not been crowned with her husband, and the Pope was persuaded to suspend all the prelates concerned in the

affair. At last Henry felt himself beaten, and in July, 1170, he made peace with Louis VII. and with Thomas, promising to restore the archbishop's estates, and to allow him to return to England. Early in December Thomas landed at Sandwich, and rode to Canterbury amidst the tears and blessings of the people, the chanting of the clergy, and the pealing of church bells. On Christmas Day he preached to his people, 'in right



PARTING OF BECKET AND THE TWO KINGS.

(From a Thirteenth-Century MS.)

sweet fashion, of the glorious birth of our Lord,' and warned them that his own death might be near.

He had reason for misgiving, for he had refused to absolve the bishops whom the Pope had suspended and excommunicated for their part in young Henry's coronation, unless they would abjure their errors, and the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of London and Salisbury, had gone to complain to the king in Normandy. 'What lazy wretches,' cried Henry in a burst of wrath, 'have I nourished and brought up, who suffer their lord to be thus shamefully mocked by

a low-born clerk ! Four knights—Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, Reginald Fitz-Urse, and Richard le Breton—determined to wipe out the reproach.



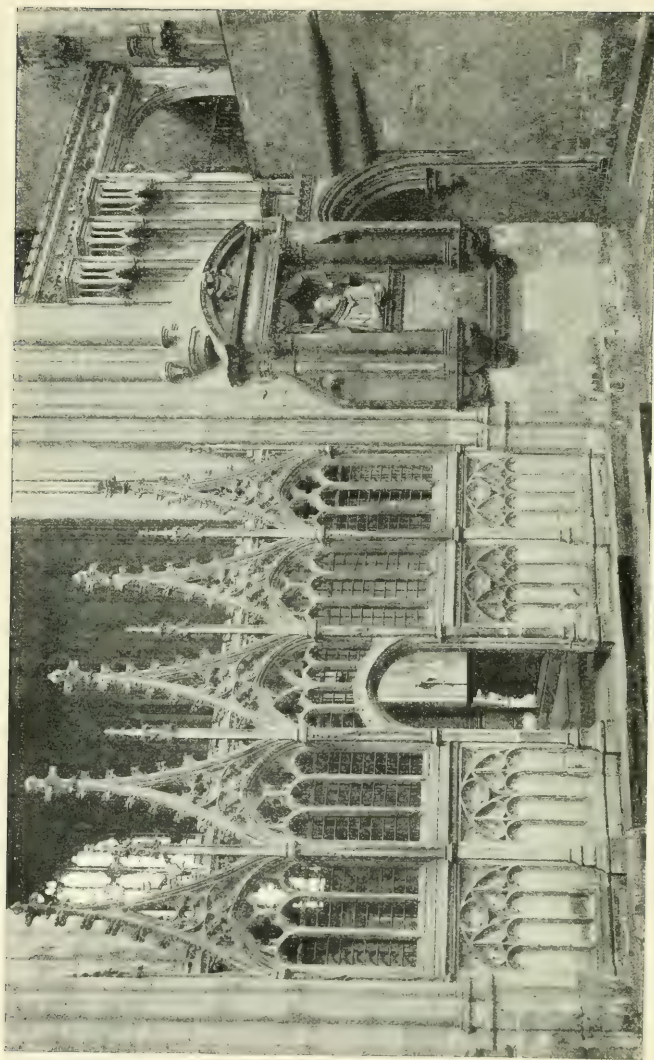
MURDER OF THOMAS BECKET.

(From a Norman-French Psalter of the Thirteenth Century.)

On Christmas Eve they crossed to England. On December 29 they reached Canterbury, and entered the archbishop's presence. After an unseemly wrangle,

they retired to arm themselves. The archbishop's terrified attendants hurried him into the cathedral. With shouts of, 'To me, men of the king!' Reginald Fitz-Urse, his drawn sword in his hand, rushed from the cloisters into the cathedral transept, followed by his accomplices. 'Where is the traitor, Thomas Becket?' cried the murderers. 'Where is the archbishop?' 'Here am I; no traitor, but a priest of God,' said Thomas. 'What is your will?' 'That you should die!' was the answer; and they tried to drag him from the church. He resisted, and Reginald Fitz-Urse dealt the first blow. The protecting arm of his faithful disciple, Edward Grim, was struck down, and the archbishop commended his spirit to God as another blow brought him to his knees. 'For the Name of Jesus and for the defence of the Church, I am ready to die,' he murmured, as his soul took flight. 'Let us go hence,' said one of the murderous band; 'this man will rise no more.'

The murder sent a thrill of horror through Christendom. King Henry shut himself up for three days, and refused to eat or speak. He sent a humble message to the angry Pope, and withdrew to Ireland till the fury of the storm should be past. In May, 1172, he returned to Normandy, met the Papal Legates, made full submission, and received absolution. In September he publicly repeated his submission at Avranches, swearing on the Gospels that he had neither commanded nor desired the archbishop's death, but admitting that his hasty outburst might have provoked the murder, and promising to be faithful to Pope Alexander III., to renounce the Constitutions of Clarendon, to go on Crusade, and to maintain two hundred knights in the Holy Land for a year.



THE TRANSEPT OF MARTYRDOM IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

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Meantime, the fame of the martyred Thomas was growing. Miracles were wrought by his blood, which his servants had preserved, on the scene of his martyrdom and at his tomb. He was canonized within three years of his death, and the name of the new saint went out into all lands. Loving hands recorded the story of his life and death, churches were dedicated to him, and pilgrims flocked in crowds to his shrine.

When, in the crisis of 1174, Henry II. publicly humiliated himself before the martyr's tomb, it might well seem that St. Thomas of Canterbury had won in death the victory which in life had been denied to Thomas the archbishop.

RICHARD CŒUR DE LION, THE CRUSADER.

(1157-1199.)

WHILE the rulers of Western Europe were engaged in petty bickerings, the echoes of a nobler conflict were borne across the sea from the outposts of Christendom in the far East, where the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was in the throes of a life and death struggle with the Turks under their great leader Saladin. In the autumn of 1187, letters from Palestine brought the heavy tidings of the defeat of the Christians near Tiberias, the capture of King Guy of Jerusalem and of the True Cross, and the surrender of the Holy City to the Mohammedans. The Archbishop of Tyre, his black-sailed ship heralding his news of woe, came to Europe to plead for help, and soon the West was arming for the Third Crusade.

The Holy Land had been conquered by the Mohammedan Arabs in the seventh century, but intercourse with the West continued, and a constant stream of European pilgrims poured into Syria, impelled by the desire to visit the sacred scenes of Christ's Life and Death, or to purify by penance their sin-stained souls. Then, towards the end of the eleventh century, the Turkish tribes of Eastern Asia conquered Syria and

Asia Minor. Converts to Mohammedanism, they were full of religious bigotry and zeal, and the pilgrims to Jerusalem suffered much at their hands. In the year 1095, Pope Urban II., in a Church Council at Clermont in Auvergne, made an eloquent appeal to the nations of Europe, torn with civil strife, to turn their arms against the enemies of the faith, and go forth to rescue the Sepulchre of the Lord from the infidel Turks. With cries of 'God wills it' (*Deus vult*), his hearers sewed crosses on their shoulders, and pledged themselves to the 'Crusade,' the 'Holy War.' In blind faith, hordes of ignorant men and weak women and children set out for Jerusalem, under the guidance of the French monk Peter the Hermit, and the German knight Walter the Penniless, only to perish miserably in Asia Minor by the hand of the Turks. They were followed by a great army, chiefly from Normandy, France, and Italy, led by Godfrey, son of the elder Eustace of Boulogne, by Robert of Normandy, the Conqueror's eldest son, by Stephen of Blois, father of King Stephen of England, by Raymond, Count of Toulouse, and by the Norman princes of Southern Italy and Sicily, Bohemond and Tancred. With them went Odo of Bayeux, to close his troubled life on the journey, and many another restless spirit. The Crusaders took Nicæa, the capital of Turkish Asia Minor, and Antioch, the key of Northern Syria, and finally, in 1099, captured Jerusalem, and knelt with tears of joy before the Holy Sepulchre. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, a long narrow strip of territory between the Mediterranean and the Desert, was established, and Godfrey of Boulogne was chosen to rule over it.

Europe and Asia had once more touched hands, and as pilgrims and Crusaders passed to and fro with their

travellers' tales of wonder and adventure, the imagination of the Western nations was fired by the romance and mystery of the East, and poems and legends began to be woven round the story of the heroes of the Cross. The link between the Angevin house and the Holy Land was peculiarly close, for in 1128 Fulk V., Count of Anjou, the grandfather of Henry II., had surrendered his hereditary dominions to his son Geoffrey, and married the daughter and heiress of the third King of Jerusalem, Baldwin II. It was to help his widow Melisenda and her two young sons against the Turks that in 1147 a Second Crusade was organized under the Emperor Conrad III. and Louis VII. of France. The expedition, however, was a disastrous failure, and the folly and incapacity of Louis did much to alienate Queen Eleanor, who accompanied him, and helped to bring about the divorce which gave Aquitaine to England.

The Eastern life and climate told on the health of the European conquerors of Syria, and less than forty years after the Second Crusade the two sons of Fulk of Anjou were dead, and his grandson, Baldwin IV., was dying of leprosy, while the power of the Turks was reaching its height under the great Sultan, 'King of all the kings of the East,' Saladin, 'Honour of the Faith.' In vain did the Patriarch of Jerusalem journey to England with the royal standard of Jerusalem and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, to entreat Henry II. to fulfil the Crusading vow which he had made after Becket's murder. The princes of Europe gave fair words, but little substantial help. Baldwin IV. died before the Patriarch returned, and was followed to the grave within two years by his little nephew and successor, Baldwin V., son of his sister Sibylla. Sibylla, now heir to the throne, bestowed the crown on

her husband, Guy of Lusignan. Ten months later the fatal battle of Hittin or Tiberias had been fought, the True Cross had been captured, and Guy was a prisoner in the hands of Saladin.

Europe was at last stirred to action. Richard of Poitou and Aquitaine was the first to take the Cross; his example was followed by the Kings of France and England, and by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. A 'Saladin tithe' was levied. Mothers urged their sons and wives their husbands to the 'Holy War,' while poets lamented the 'Wood of the Cross,' the sacred relic, set with gold and precious stones, which had so often led the Christian hosts to victory.

The German Crusaders started in May, 1189, but their prospects of success were ruined by the death of the Emperor, who was drowned a year later in Asia Minor. Henry II. of England was also destined to die with his Crusading vow unfulfilled. His last fight was fought against the foes of his own household, and the leadership of the English Crusaders fell to the new king, Richard I.

In the spring of 1190 the French and English forces embarked at Genoa and Marseilles for the Holy Land, while the English fleet came round by Portugal, and joined the king at Messina in Sicily. A great fleet it was, and a goodly, with heavy sailing-boats called 'dromonds' or 'busses,' for transport, and light battle-ships or 'galleys,' with one or two banks of oars below the deck where the fighters stood, and a sharp 'spur' or 'beak' in the prow to pierce the sides of the enemy's vessels. When, in September, 1190, Richard himself arrived at Messina with a blare of trumpets, his ships gay with flags and glittering with arms, the Sicilians thought that they beheld a king indeed. Richard,

they said, was a lion; Philip Augustus, who had reached Messina shortly before him, was a lamb. They were still more impressed when the English king punished their quarrels with his soldiers by taking Messina 'quicker than a priest could chant matins,' and making terms with Tancred, the King of Sicily, who was trying to withhold the dowry of the late king's widow, Richard's sister Joanna. In the spring of 1191 the English host sailed for Syria, conquering Cyprus from the Greeks by the way, where Richard celebrated his marriage with Berengaria of Navarre, who had joined him in Sicily with the old Queen Eleanor.

The English Crusaders followed the French to Acre, the famous seaport, which had been unsuccessfully besieged for nearly two years by the Christians under Guy of Lusignan, now released from captivity. On June 8, 1191, the thunder of trumpets and the shouts of a rejoicing people proclaimed to the beleaguered Turks the arrival of the King of England, 'the desire of all nations,' 'the most skilful warrior among Christian men.' Richard had, indeed, already shown himself a born war-leader, whether by land or sea. In time of storm, the great wax candle on the king's ship had shone out as a beacon to the fleet. In the stress of combat it was ever the king's voice which encouraged soldiers and sailors to fight manfully. Yet at first it seemed as if the taking of Acre were a task too hard for even Richard to accomplish. Saladin and his army occupied the country round Acre, and hemmed the besiegers in. Pestilence and famine demoralized the Crusading host. Philip Augustus and Richard himself were struck down by sickness. In vain did the leaders vie with each other in building the great

'machines,' siege-towers, battering-rams, and catapults or stone-slings, which were used in mediæval times for siege operations. Philip of France had a stone-sling, or 'petraria,' called the 'Bad Neighbour,' a rival to the Turks' 'Bad Kinsman,' within the city; and Richard had a similar stone-caster, or 'mangonel,' which is said to have killed twelve men with one stone. One of these 'petrariæ' was called 'the Stone-sling of God,' and a priest always sat beside it, asking alms to keep it in working order. There were 'rams,' too—huge wooden beams covered with iron plates, often terminating in an iron ram's head—which were driven repeatedly with great force against the walls. To protect the men who worked these rams, or came within range of the missiles of the besieged garrison, coverings of wicker-work and hides were used, called 'sows' or 'tortoises,' and a chronicler tells how both Philip of France and Richard of England would sit beneath such a shelter and shoot with a cross-bow at the Turks who appeared on the walls of Acre. Often the ram and the stone-sling would be placed in a siege-tower, or 'castle'—a wooden erection on wheels several stories high, fitted with drawbridges which could be lowered on to the wall of the besieged town, and filled with men-at-arms.

King Richard built a tower, or 'belfry,' of this kind, protected with hides, ropes, and beams against the blows of the besieged and their deadly 'Greek fire'—a mixture of sulphur, pitch, oil, and other ingredients, which when lighted could only be extinguished with sand or vinegar. But the Turks were brave and steadfast. They burnt Philip's siege-engines: they drove back the assailants who tore down the walls, animated by Richard's offer of four gold pieces for every stone;

they met the besiegers' mines by counter-mines ; they repelled all attacks on the breaches made by the stone-casters, until at length, when no help came, their hearts failed, and on July 12, 1191, they surrendered, while Saladin undertook to restore the True Cross, to free his Christian captives, and to pay the Crusaders a considerable sum of money.

Unfortunately, the Crusaders marred their success by quarrels and jealousies. The friendship between Richard and Philip Augustus had changed to an enmity, which was deepened by Richard's desertion of Philip's sister Alice for Berengaria of Navarre. There were disputes, too, over the kingdom of Jerusalem, for Queen Sibylla and her children had died in 1190 ; and while Richard supported the claims of Guy of Lusignan, Philip favoured Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, who married Sibylla's sister.

Soon, wearying of the whole expedition, Philip pleaded ill-health as an excuse for returning to France, leaving his army under the command of the Duke of Burgundy. Richard now marched along the coast, the fleet accompanying him by sea, defeated the Turks in the battle of Arsûf, fortified the port of Joppa, and then marched on Jerusalem. But winter was drawing on, and the leaders of the armies counselled retreat. Unwillingly enough, Richard withdrew to Ramleh, while his followers 'groaned and sighed at the sudden frustration of their hope of visiting the Lord's Sepulchre.' Richard now set to work to restore the seaport of Ascalon, which the Turks had dismantled, and when spring returned he made another effort to reach the Holy City, the goal of all his hopes, which he saw one summer day from afar as he pursued the Turks among the mountains.

Long afterwards the story was told that, when Richard's knights would have shown him Jerusalem in the distance, he hid his eyes, and cried, with tears: 'Fair Sire God, I pray Thee that I may not see Thy Holy City, since I cannot deliver it from the hands of Thy enemies.' He was, indeed, fated never to enter the gates of Jerusalem. Once more the



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FIRST SEAL OF RICHARD I. USED FROM
1189 TO ABOUT 1197—OBVERSE.



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FIRST SEAL OF RICHARD I. USED FROM
1189 TO ABOUT 1197—REVERSE.

advance ended in retreat, and by the middle of the summer Richard was back at Acre. He saved Joppa from falling into the hands of the Turks, and then made terms with Saladin and prepared to return home.

On October 9, 1192, he sailed from Acre, while the weeping people lamented

his departure, saying, 'Oh Jerusalem, who will protect

thee now King Richard is gone?' In the early dawn of the following day, as the Syrian shore faded from his sight, Richard was heard to pray aloud: 'Oh, Holy Land, to God I commend thee. May God grant me life to bring thee succour at His good pleasure, for I hope and intend to come again to thy help.' That hope remained unfulfilled. On his way home Richard was taken prisoner by Leopold, Duke of Austria, whom he had offended during the Crusade. Leopold delivered him up to the new Emperor, Henry VI., son of Frederick Barbarossa, who also bore him a grudge for his alliance with Tancred of Sicily, a kingdom claimed by Henry in right of his wife. Till 1194 Richard languished in captivity, and was then only released on condition of paying an enormous ransom, and of doing homage to the Emperor for his kingdom. Five more years he passed in his Continental dominions, struggling against Philip of France, and then, in 1199, he died from an arrow-wound whilst besieging the castle of Chalûs in Aquitaine, to win a treasure which its lord had discovered and refused to surrender. With characteristic generosity, Richard, as he lay dying, forgave the man who dealt his death-wound. He was buried at his father's feet at Fontevrault, where his effigy may still be seen, robed and crowned as a king. But a better idea of Richard as he lived and fought may be gathered from his seal, which shows his tall, slender figure in the full armour of the time, a hooded tunic or 'hauberk' of chain-mail, the legs cased also in chain-mail, a cylindrical helmet with a 'nasal,' or protection for the nose, a shield slung round the neck, and a long sword. Small wonder that the Turks regarded 'Melech' (*king*) Richard as irresistible, 'old in war, excellent in counsel,' and that

Turkish mothers frightened their crying children into silence by telling them that the King of England was coming. The fame of the 'Lion-heart' was enshrined in English legend and song. Strange stories, beautiful or terrible, were told of his adventures in the Holy Land and during his captivity, and thus their Crusader king became to the English people the central figure in the romantic history of the 'Holy War.'

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, THE FATHER OF ENGLISH POPULAR LITERATURE.

WHERE the Bristol Channel opens into the Irish Sea, some three miles from Pembroke, stood in mediæval days the castle of Manorbeer, commanding from its hill-top a wide stretch of ocean, and set amidst woods and orchards. Beneath its walls, in the middle of the twelfth century, four little brothers might have been seen playing on the shore, three of them building castles and towns in the sand, but the youngest so intent on raising mimic churches and monasteries that he was nicknamed 'the bishop.' These children were the sons of the Norman knight, William de Barri, lord of Manorbeer, whose wife was descended from the princes of South Wales. The little 'bishop,' Gerald, inherited the gallant spirit of his Norman ancestors, but it was to the Celtic quickness of wit and imagination of his mother's race that he owed the literary gift which has immortalized the name of 'Giraldus Cambrensis,' Gerald the Welshman.

Wales, the wild, mountainous district beyond the Severn, in which the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Britain had found shelter from the storm of Saxon invasion, had always cherished its independence under its native chiefs, though its princes had been forced to

yield a nominal allegiance to the English king. But the tribal dissensions of the Welsh chiefs were intensified by the natural division between the mountainous north and the fertile south, and the disunion of Wales gave England her opportunity. The Norman lords on the 'March,' or border, steadily advanced westward, and the Anglo-Norman kings encouraged individual conquest, colonization, and intermarriage between Welsh and English. William II., after three unsuccessful Welsh wars, fell back on the policy of castle-building. Henry I. checked the power of the March lords, Robert of Belesme and his brother, Arnulf of Pembroke, but he favoured Norman colonization in South Wales, settled a body of Flemings in Pembrokeshire, 'Little England beyond Wales,' and began the policy of appointing Norman bishops to Welsh sees. Henry II. won formal homage from the North Welsh princes, and entered into relations with Rhys ap Griffith, Prince of South Wales, who acted as royal 'justiciar,' or viceroy, in the southern district, and gave the king substantial support in the revolt of 1173-1174.

When in 1172 Gerald de Barri returned to South Wales from the schools of Paris, where he had been educated, he found his mother's kinsman, Rhys ap Griffith, and his mother's brother, the Bishop of St. David's, supreme in Church and State. The young Gerald was appointed in 1175 Archdeacon of Brecknock, in his uncle's diocese. In 1176 the bishop died, and Gerald threw himself with characteristic energy into a scheme for making St. David's independent of Canterbury, and the mother-church or metropolitical see of Wales. Disappointed at the failure of this plan, and at Henry II.'s refusal to give him the vacant

bishopric, he retired to Paris, where he remained till 1180. In 1184 he became a royal chaplain. He was present when in 1185 the Patriarch of Jerusalem urged Henry II. to take the Cross, and shortly afterwards he accompanied the king's son John on his first visit to his Irish lordship.

Gerald was a good guide for the prince on this expedition, for the fortunes of Ireland had been closely interwoven with those of his own family.

Ireland had shared neither in the Saxon conquest of Britain nor in the eleventh-century Norman conquest. It suffered from Wicking inroads, and Scandinavian settlements were planted along the coast at Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick; but the Danes did not, as in England, prove a consolidating and unifying force. Ireland remained disunited, divided amongst petty chieftains or tribal kings, constantly at war with each other, and owing only a shadowy allegiance to a nominal overking. Even the Irish Church, once renowned for ardour and sanctity, had sunk into slothful indifference, and lacked organization and discipline. Some efforts had already been made at ecclesiastical reform when, in 1166, a tribal quarrel led Dermot, underking of Leinster, to journey to Aquitaine, and appeal for help to Henry II. Henry, too busy to interfere in person, authorized his subjects to follow the standard of the Irish chief, and Dermot met with a ready response from the Norman nobles of Wales, descendants of soldiers of fortune, in whom the spirit of adventure was strong.

Robert Fitz-Stephen, Gerald de Barri's uncle, crossed in 1168 with three of his nephews, one of them Gerald's brother. Somewhat later came Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Fitz-Stephen's half-brother. and, later still, the famous

‘Strongbow,’ Richard de Clare, Earl of Striguil and Pembroke, with a large force. Waterford and Dublin were taken. Richard de Clare was married to Dermot’s daughter Eva, and, after Dermot’s death, posed as his heir and ‘Earl of Leinster.’ All seemed going well for the Norman adventurers, when Henry II. suddenly forbade their further interference with his ‘Irish subjects,’ and in the autumn of 1171 appeared himself in Ireland, to escape the storm of indignation which followed the murder of Becket.

The Norman adventurers submitted. Richard de Clare was confirmed in the Leinster earldom, and by Christmas all the Irish chieftains, except Roderick O’Connor of Connaught, had taken Henry, King of England, for lord and king of Ireland. The reform of the Church followed. An ecclesiastical Council was held at Cashel, and order seemed about to be restored to the distracted country when news from Normandy forced Henry to hurry back to meet the Papal Legates, and early in 1172 he sailed from Ireland, never to return.

Five years later the lordship of Ireland was bestowed on John, who was betrothed to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, the heiress of great estates in Western England and in South Wales, and in 1185 John was knighted by his father, and sent as governor to his new dominions, with Gerald de Barri in attendance.

To Ireland the visit was productive of no good, for John proved himself unworthy of the trust reposed in him. He alienated the Norman nobles, and insulted the native chieftains by mocking at their strange dress and pulling their long beards, and in a few months he was recalled. But to Gerald de Barri the experience

bore fruit in two of his most noteworthy books, his 'Description of Ireland' (*Topographia Hiberniæ*) and his 'History of the Conquest of Ireland' (*De Expugnatione Hiberniæ*). Both books are written in Latin, the common language of educated men at the time. The 'Conquest of Ireland' gives an account of the adventures of the Norman knights, who had been the pioneers of King Henry in the subjection of the Irish dominions. The 'Description of Ireland' is in three divisions. The first treats of the geography of Ireland, its climate, its productions, and the birds and beasts which are found there. The second relates all the Irish marvels and traditions which Gerald had been able to collect. The third traces the early history of Ireland, and describes the manners and customs of the Irish people—their barbarism, their ignorance and idleness, their love of fighting and drinking, their taste for music, their fickle disposition, 'constant only in inconstancy.'

Gerald was well pleased with his own work. The two first parts of the 'Description,' he tells us, were generally praised for the scholastic elegance of their style. Unwilling to 'hide his candle under a bushel,' he resolved to make his book known by reading it aloud at Oxford, 'where the clergy flourished more than elsewhere in England, and excelled in clerkly knowledge.'

In truth, the little walled town by the river Isis was already a renowned haunt of learning. Gerald had no difficulty in finding an audience. He gave three days to the reading of his book, a day to each part. On the first day he entertained at his own expense all the poor scholars of the town; on the second day the doctors of law, theology, and medicine, with their most noted

pupils; and on the third day the rest of the scholars, with many burgesses and knights.

But public duties soon called the zealous archdeacon from his studies. In 1188, while all Europe was ringing with the news of the capture of the True Cross, and the taking of Jerusalem by the Turks, Henry II. held a Great Council, ordered the 'Saladin tithe' to be taken for the expenses of the 'Holy War,' and sent Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, with Ralph Glanvill, the Justiciar, to preach the Crusade in Wales. At Radnor, where they met Rhys ap Griffith and many of the leading Welsh nobles, Gerald de Barri, 'setting an example to others,' as he is careful to explain, was the first to take the Cross, and he then accompanied the archbishop on his mission. Baldwin's preaching seems to have had little effect; but when Gerald spoke to the people they pressed in crowds to take the Cross, and melted into tears at his eloquence, though, as he preached in Latin and French, they could not understand a word. Gerald himself has preserved an account of the tour in his 'Itinerary of Wales' (*Itinerarium Cambriæ*). But the book which Archbishop Baldwin longed to see, the history of 'the recovery of the Holy Land, and the conquest of Saladin and the Saracens,' was destined to remain unwritten. The Crusaders effected neither the conquest of Saladin nor the recovery of Jerusalem. The great expedition, begun with such high hopes, ended in disappointment and disillusion. Archbishop Baldwin and Ralph Glanvill reached Palestine only to die before the walls of Acre, while Gerald de Barri obtained absolution from his Crusading vow, and after a few more years of public life, turned from the stormy sea of Court intrigue to the 'quiet haven' of studious retirement. He withdrew to

Lincoln, attracted by the presence there of William de Monte, a famous theologian and a friend of Gerald's student days at Paris, and resolved to devote his remaining years to learning.

But these good resolutions were scattered to the winds when, in 1198, the Bishop of St. David's died, and the Chapter nominated Gerald de Barri in his stead. Gerald's favourite dream of making St. David's the mother-church of Wales seemed about to be realized. But, unfortunately, Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, was determined to appoint an Englishman to the vacant see, and the next four years were spent in a somewhat undignified struggle between the archbishop and the bishop-elect, in the course of which Gerald made three journeys to Rome to appeal in person to Pope Innocent III. At length, finding that even his friends were wearied of the strife, he resigned his claims in favour of the archbishop's candidate, and sought that 'sweet quiet' which he had always professed to love.

During the tranquil last years of his life Gerald probably finished the many manuscripts which have come down to us, amongst them a description of Wales, a history of his own life, and a treatise on 'The Education of Princes,' which contains lively pictures, drawn by no friendly hand, of Henry II. and his sons. Henry II., the wise administrator, appears as 'the oppressor of the nobles' and 'the hammer of the Church'; Richard I., the brave soldier, is 'full of tyrannical pride'; John is 'a tyrant whelp, sprung from tyrants, and himself the most tyrannical of all tyrants.'

If private grievances had something to do with these harsh judgments, 'Gerald the Welshman' might not unnaturally regard the English kings as tyrants, crush-

ing the independence of Wales both in Church and State. In spite of vanity and self-seeking, a touch of patriotism lifts him above the pettiness of merely personal aims, a real desire for the national unity of the Welsh Church redeems his long, sordid struggle for preferment.

Yet Gerald the patriot and churchman would hardly be remembered were it not for the keen wit, the observing eye, and the ready pen of Gerald the historian. 'By his excellent writings he deserved of England well, of Wales better, and of Ireland best of all.'

WILLIAM THE MARSHAL, THE VERY PERFECT KNIGHT.

(1146 (?)—1219.)

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS was one of a brilliant group of poets and men of letters who gathered about the Court of Henry II. There were the historians Richard Fitz-Neal, Roger of Hoveden, and William of Newburgh, who wrote the chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard Cœur de Lion. There was the witty versifier, Walter Map, who satirized the vices and follies of churchmen and courtiers. There was the gifted Welshman, Geoffrey of Monmouth, who worked up the legends of the Celtic king Arthur, and sent them forth to charm the world in his 'History of the Britons.' All these wrote in Latin ; but there were courtly French poets, too, who sang of love and gallant deeds of arms : the 'trouvères' of Normandy, the 'troubadours' of the South, the wandering 'jongleurs' who haunted the castles of the nobility, the household minstrels who were attached to the service of great lords or ladies. To such a poet we owe the history of 'the wisest and most valiant knight of his time,' William the Marshal, Earl of Striguil and of Pembroke, the pattern of mediæval chivalry at its best.

Born in the evil days of King Stephen, when England

was torn by civil war, William's life was adventurous from the beginning. His father, John the Marshal, supported the Empress Matilda, and in 1152 he sent his son to the king as a hostage for the surrender of the town of Newbury, in Berkshire, which was hard pressed by the royal troops, and having thus gained time to strengthen the garrison, refused to keep his engagement. The life of the boy-hostage was forfeited by his father's faithlessness, and he would have been put to death had not his innocence and merry prattle touched the king's heart. 'Oh, what a fine swing!' cried little William, when he saw the stone-sling (*perrière*) from which his enemies proposed to hurl him into the besieged town; 'I must have a swing in it!' 'Take him away,' said Stephen; 'he chatters too prettily to be put to such a cruel death,' and he would not suffer him to be harmed. It is pleasant to turn from the records of war and bloodshed to such a scene as this, or to the picture which William's poet-biographer paints of the kindly king playing childish games with the handsome brown-haired boy amidst the grass and flowers of the Berkshire meadows.

Two years later, in 1154, Stephen died, and Henry II. became King of England. William the Marshal was now sent by his father to be educated in the household of his kinsman, William of Tancarville, Chamberlain of Normandy. His comrades laughed at him for sleeping so soundly and eating so heartily, and nicknamed him 'the glutton.' But the Chamberlain foresaw that the tall, graceful lad, with his sweet temper and winning manners, was destined for great things. After serving for several years as a simple squire, William was dubbed knight, and entered the noble order of chivalry. As we turn over the quaint Norman-French verses of

his biography, a strange world opens up before us—a world of songs and dances, of music and laughter, of tournaments, or mimic battles in which knights fight and take prisoners, and win booty and ransoms; a world where physical courage and military skill, liberality, honour, and fidelity to feudal vows, are the highest virtues, and disloyalty, treachery, and cowardice are the basest vices. While the Becket quarrel was disturbing the peace of nations, William the Marshal was riding light-heartedly from tournament to tournament, bearing off everywhere the palm for gallantry and generosity, and living mainly on his spoils. When in 1170 the young king Henry was crowned, Henry II. appointed William one of the knights of his son's retinue, to 'guard and teach' him, and it was from his hand that the young king received knighthood. In the revolt of 1173 William supported young Henry against his father, and though he was driven from his master's side by the calumnies of jealous rivals, he returned when in 1183 war broke out between Richard of Poitou and his brothers; and when the young king was suddenly smitten with a fatal disease, it was William the Marshal who tended his death-bed, and to whom he bequeathed his Crusader's cross, begging him to go to the Holy Land in his stead.

With the death of the young king, says the Marshal's biographer, 'the world lost its light.' The rebellious son and quarrelsome brother had made many friends by his careless generosity and the charm of his manner. He was 'the standard-bearer of chivalry' and the patron of poets, and encouraged not only the mimic warfare of the tournament, but also the gay contests of wit and verse-making which were fashionable among the nobles of Southern France, and in which Richard of Poitou

and his brother Geoffrey peculiarly excelled. One such knightly poet, the 'troubadour' Bertrand de Born, the most turbulent of the young king's partisans, persisted in rebellion after his master's death. Forced at last to surrender, he was twitted by Henry II. with the loss of the ready wit for which he was famous. 'Sire,' replied the wily troubadour, 'I lost my wit on the day that you lost your son.' Touched by his fidelity, Henry, bursting into tears, granted him a full pardon, and restored him to favour.

William the Marshal fulfilled his vow of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he acquitted himself valiantly. On his return he entered the service of Henry II., and proved himself as loyal to the old king as he had been faithful to his son. In 1189, when Richard and John leagued with Philip of France against their father, and Henry was forced to flee from Le Mans, William guarded his retreat, and in the struggle found himself face to face with Richard of Poitou. 'By the Feet of God, Marshal, do not kill me!' he cried. 'Nay, may the devil kill you; I will not,' answered the Marshal, plunging his lance into the body of Richard's horse. During the last sad days of the old king's life the Marshal lingered near him, and he was one of the few faithful friends who tended the neglected corpse, and made preparations for the funeral at Fontevault.

Richard bore no malice against the Marshal for having unhorsed him. He sent him to England to prepare for his coming, and confirmed to him the gift, promised by Henry II., of the hand of the wealthy heiress, Eva or Isabel de Clare, only child of Richard 'Strongbow,' Earl of Striguil and Pembroke. In right of his wife, the 'landless' Marshal became possessed of great estates in Wales, in Ireland, and in Normandy,

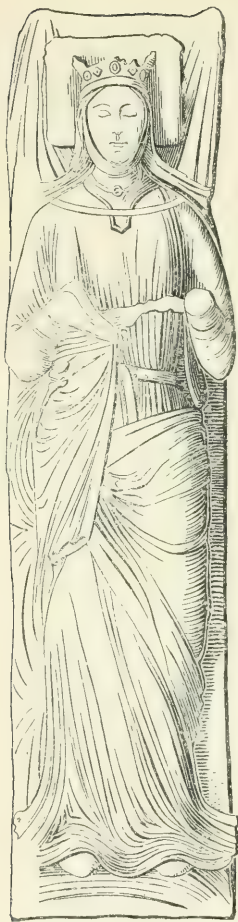
and some years later, by the death of his elder brother, he inherited also his father's lands and the office of Marshal of England.

When Richard went to the Holy Land, he entrusted the government of England to William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor and Justiciar. Longchamp's pride and arrogance soon alienated all classes, and William the Marshal took part in the opposition, led by the king's brother John, which resulted in his deposition, and in the appointment to the justiciarship of Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen. During Richard's captivity the Marshal loyally maintained the rights of the absent king against the intrigues of John and Philip of France. But on Richard's death William transferred his allegiance to John, and with equal fidelity supported his claims to the Angevin dominions in preference to those of Arthur, son of Geoffrey of Brittany. John was crowned Duke of Normandy in April, 1199, and King of England in the following month.

No king so thoroughly unpopular has ever ruled over England. It is true that the accounts of him which have come down to us were written by unfriendly hands; it is true also that he was placed in difficult circumstances, with an empty Exchequer, a disaffected baronage, and able and alert foes on the Continent. Yet no external misfortune can account for the universal detestation with which he was regarded by his contemporaries, or for the fact that he, alone of all his race, lived unloved and died unpitied.

Philip of France lost no time in coming forward as the champion of Arthur of Brittany. By thirteenth-century rules of succession, it was an open question whether John or his nephew had the better right; but

the discontented barons of Brittany, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou eagerly seized the opportunity for rebellion afforded by Arthur's claims. After some desultory fighting, Philip, distracted by the internal dissensions of his kingdom, consented to a truce. But John could never take the chances which Fortune offered him. He ruined his own cause by oppressing his Southern vassals, and by divorcing his wife, Hawisa of Gloucester, and marrying Isabella of Angoulême, the betrothed bride of Hugh de Lusignan, son of the Count of La Marche. In 1200 the Poitevin barons solemnly appealed against him to their overlord, Philip of France. According to one account, when two years later Philip found himself ready to renew the war, this complaint served as a pretext, since John, failing to appear in answer to a summons to meet the charge in person, could be adjudged, as a faithless vassal, to forfeit all the lands which he held of the French king. Be this as it may, Philip invaded Normandy in 1202, while Arthur besieged his grandmother, Queen Eleanor, in the Castle of Mirebeau, in Poitou. At first fortune favoured the English. Eleanor was rescued, and Arthur was taken prisoner. But when, in the following year, he mysteriously disappeared, the tide of popular feeling turned against John, who was suspected of having murdered his nephew. Castle after castle, town after town, surrendered to Philip, while the English king made scarcely an effort to save them. At length Château-Gaillard, the splendid fortress which Richard Cœur de Lion had built on the Seine to guard Rouen, was taken, and Rouen itself capitulated. By the summer of 1204 Philip was master of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. By 1208 Brittany and Poitou had also been subdued, in spite of some belated



QUEEN ELEANOR OF
AQUITAINE.

(From her Effigy at Fontevault.)

efforts on the part of John, and only the lands south of the Loire were left to the English Crown. Well might the troubadours lament King Richard, who, in defending the fair Southern provinces, 'would have laid out much gold and much silver.'

From troubles abroad John turned to face troubles at home. In 1205, on the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, there was a disputed election. The younger monks of Canterbury secretly appointed their sub-prior, Reginald, and sent him to Rome. John, discovering what they had done, nominated his Treasurer, John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, to the vacant see, while the bishops of the Canterbury province complained that their right to a voice in the election had been disregarded. All three parties appealed to the Pope, and Innocent III. solved the problem by setting all the claims aside, and inducing the Canterbury monks who had carried the appeals to Rome to elect the pious and learned English Cardinal, Stephen Langton. John, indignant at this assertion of Papal authority, refused to recognize the new primate, and in 1208 the Pope laid

England under an interdict. No Sacraments save baptism and extreme unction might be administered throughout the kingdom, no services might be held, the church doors were closed, the church bells were silent. John retaliated by seizing the estates of the clergy; but in 1209 the Pope declared the king himself excommunicate, and two years later he threatened him with deposition at the hand of Philip of France. John had alienated the Church, the fidelity of the baronage was wavering, the Welsh were stirring on the borders, and Philip was preparing to invade England. Making a virtue of necessity, he submitted to the Pope, and purchased absolution by accepting Langton as archbishop, binding himself to go on Crusade, and surrendering his kingdom to Innocent III., to be held by fealty and homage as a fief of the Papal see on payment of a yearly tribute.

But reconciliation with the Church did not involve reconciliation with the barons. Taxed beyond endurance, summoned for military service, and disbanded with fresh demands for money, their castles seized and their children taken as hostages by the suspicious king, it was small wonder that when, in 1213, John bade them follow him to Poitou, he was met by a refusal. The barons had other work on hand than the recovery of the king's Continental dominions. On August 25, in a Great Council held in London, in St. Paul's Church, Stephen Langton produced the charter of Henry I. 'By this,' he said to the assembled nobles, 'you may, if you will, recover your long-lost liberties.' The barons had found a leader and a rallying-cry. The death of the Justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, shortly after the Council, removed the last check to the growing disaffection.

In 1214 John made a final attempt to recover his lost provinces. While he led an army to Southern France, he supported with English troops the alliance of the Emperor Otto IV. with the Count of Flanders against the French king. But in the battle of Bouvines the combined German, Flemish, and English troops were defeated by the French, and John was forced to make a truce with Philip, and to return home, baffled and discomfited, to face the opposition of his subjects. During his absence the barons, 'standing like a wall for the House of the Lord, and for the liberty of the Church and kingdom,' had met at Bury St. Edmunds, and had sworn that if the king delayed to restore their laws and liberties, they would make war on him until he granted them a charter. John tried to detach the clergy from the national cause by offering them freedom of election, but they stood firm, while the barons, taking up arms, encamped at Brackley, in Northamptonshire. It is now that William the Marshal comes once more actively upon the scene. He had, on John's accession, been invested with the Earldom of Striguil and Pembroke, and throughout the reign, in spite of distrust and misconception, he had remained true to his allegiance. He had taken part in a futile attempt to save Château-Gaillard; he had witnessed John's charter of resignation to the Pope, and now he was sent from Oxford by the king to negotiate with the barons, among whom was his own eldest son.

When John heard the barons' demands he refused them absolutely, crying: 'Why do they not ask for my kingdom also? Never will I become their slave!' Thereupon the barons, under Robert Fitz-Walter, 'the Marshal of the army of God and Holy Church,' marched on London, where they were welcomed by

the citizens. Their numbers grew daily, and John, left almost alone, was forced to submit. On June 15, 1215, in the meadow of Runnymede, between Staines and Windsor, the king set his seal to the Great Charter of Liberties.

The Great Charter was more important as a declaration of ancient rights and a rallying-point for future champions of national freedom than as an immediate security for liberty. It somewhat vaguely granted freedom to the Church; it checked certain feudal abuses, and regulated local government and the forest courts; it forbade the king to take any scutage, or aid, save the three 'ordinary' aids, without the consent of the Great Council, duly summoned; it protected the merchant from unjust taxation, and the freeman from crushing fines; it secured to all freemen the right to a fair and speedy trial; it recognized the special claims of the City of London, of the Welsh, and of the King of Scots, and it sentenced John's foreign mercenaries to banishment. It is a long, confused, ill-arranged document, but its true significance lies in the very fact of this confusion. All interests are represented in the Great Charter, because all classes were concerned in winning and maintaining it. It may fairly be regarded as the first united act of the English nation. The barons, once the oppressors of the people, were now, in alliance with the Church, the leaders of the popular party. Henceforward no English king would be able to play the tyrant without having to reckon with a national opposition.

The enforcement of the Charter was entrusted to a committee of twenty-five—twenty-four barons and the Mayor of London—who were empowered, if the king should prove faithless, to 'distrain' or seize upon his

castles and estates, with the help of the 'community of the land' (*communitas terræ*), that national force which in former days had often been used against the barons themselves.

The precaution was necessary. John's rage at his humiliation knew no bounds. He gnashed his teeth, rolled his eyes, and gnawed sticks and twigs in a fury of mortified pride. He lost no time, moreover, in obtaining a Papal Bull annulling the Charter and forbidding him to observe it. The Pope excommunicated the barons who were 'persecuting the King of England, a Crusader, and the vassal of the Roman Church,' and suspended Archbishop Stephen Langton, while John's mercenary troops ravaged England with fire and sword. The barons, in despair, offered the English crown to Louis, son of Philip of France, who had married John's niece. In May, 1216, Louis landed in Kent, and entered London. Through the summer John, supported by his mercenaries and by the Marshal and the Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, struggled to preserve his kingdom; but in the autumn, as he marched from Lincoln to the relief of Dover, his baggage, with all his treasure, was lost in the sands of the Wash. Fevered with disappointment and fatigue, the king entered Newark, only to die on October 19. His body, by his own wish, was carried to Worcester and buried beside St. Wulfstan. John's death altered the whole complexion of affairs. The guardianship of the new king, Henry III., a child of nine years old, was, by common consent of the barons, confided to the Earl of Pembroke, as 'regent of the king and kingdom' (*rector regis et regni*). With him were associated the Papal Legate, Gualo, and the Bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches. The Great Charter was reissued with some alterations.

The partisans of Louis began to desert him, and the royalists rapidly regained the castles and towns they



WILLIAM THE MARSHAL, EARL
OF PEMBROKE.

*(From his Effigy in the Temple
Church.)*

had lost. In May, 1217, the Regent, Peter des Roches, and John's foreign favourite, Fawkes de Breauté, raised the siege of Lincoln, and, after a fierce struggle in the streets of the city, completely routed the French, who fled as quickly 'as if a marshal lurked in every bush.' Some months later a French fleet laden with reinforcements under Eustace the Monk was defeated off Dover by Hubert de Burgh and the sailors of the Cinque Ports. The Regent marched on London, and Louis accepted the Treaty of Lambeth, by which a general pacification was effected. The restoration of peace was crowned, in November, 1217, by a second reissue of the Great Charter, supplemented by a Forest Charter. The Regent did not long enjoy the fruits of his labours. In the spring of 1219, struck down by mortal illness, he

was conveyed by water from London to his manor of Caversham, near Reading, desiring to die at home. He

sent for the little king, and bade him farewell. 'Sire,' said the old man, 'I pray God, if ever I have done aught pleasing to Him, to give you grace to grow into a good man. But should you follow the wicked example of some of your ancestors, I pray God not to grant you a long life.' 'Amen,' replied the child. Having settled his worldly affairs, the earl was received into the Order of the Templars, to whom he bequeathed his body. He bade his daughters sing, to cheer his sick-bed. Maud, the wife of Hugh Bigod, sang simply and sweetly, but her young sister, Joan, overcome with grief and timidity, could hardly make herself heard. 'Do not be shy,' said the Marshal, and he lifted up his voice and showed her how she ought to sing. On May 14, 1219, as he lay in the arms of his eldest son, with his wife and friends beside him, he folded his hands in adoration of the cross, and God called him to Himself.

He was buried with much pomp in the Church of the Templars in London, where his effigy is still preserved.

'Never,' said Philip of France, when he heard that the Earl of Pembroke was dead, 'have I known so loyal a man.' 'Happy is he,' comments the Marshal's biographer, as he closes his poem, 'of whom such testimony can be borne after his death.'

SAINT ROBERT OF LINCOLN, THE GREAT CLERK GROSSETESTE.

(1175 (?)—1253.)

THE thirteenth century was throughout Europe an age of high ideals and heroic lives, of great ambitions and inspiring hopes. The Crusades had opened new worlds of thought and activity to the Western nations, and influences were at work which were slowly but surely changing the rigid aristocratic feudal system into a wider, freer, more independent and democratic order of society. Commercial intercourse with the East brought wealth to the towns of the West, and with wealth came a desire for political power. Introduction to Eastern beliefs and ways of thought quickened intellectual curiosity, and led men to speculate and reason for themselves. A new spirit was abroad in politics, in religion, and in thought — a passion for truth and justice, which found expression, in the State, in the development of popular liberties and national feeling; in the Church, in the revival of religious enthusiasm; in the Universities, in the growth of free inquiry and scientific method.

In England this new spirit was embodied in three men, close friends, and fellow-workers for their country's good: Robert Grosseteste, the high-souled Bishop of

Lincoln ; Adam de Marisco, the self-denying Franciscan friar ; and Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, the patriotic national leader.

Robert Grosseteste, 'of holy memory,' devoted a long life and great powers to the cause of enlightenment and reform in England. Himself sprung from the people, the son probably of a Suffolk farmer, educated at the University of Oxford, a Master of Arts and a Doctor of Theology, his sympathies were wide and generous, and he was in touch with the best tendencies of his time.

As 'Chancellor' or 'Master' of the Oxford schools, and divinity lecturer to the Oxford Franciscans, he used his learning in the service of education. As bishop of the vast diocese of Lincoln, which stretched from Thames to Humber, he was a leader of the reforming party in the Church. As a patriot and far-seeing statesman, he guided the national party in the State.

The 'University' of Oxford, where Grosseteste received his early training, and where, after taking his degree, he taught and lectured, and acted as 'Master' or 'Rector' of the schools, probably owed its development out of the older Oxford 'schools' to a migration of English scholars, who, when expelled from Paris in consequence of the Becket controversy, settled on the banks of the Isis, and formed themselves into a 'Masters' University,' an organized society or guild of Masters of Arts, qualified to teach and lecture. To become a member of this body a Master's degree was necessary, and such a degree was only granted after a long course of study, including the 'Seven Liberal Arts,' the 'Trivium,' or threefold course of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and the 'Quadrivium,' or fourfold course of

arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. After these came the higher studies, or 'Faculties,' of medicine, law, and theology, in which Doctors' degrees were conferred. There were as yet no Colleges. The students lived in lodgings, in halls or 'hostels,' or in the monasteries of St. Frideswyde and Osney, and attended lectures in the public schools.

Grosseteste studied the 'Faculties' as well as the 'Arts,' and took a keen interest in the questions of philosophy, politics, and natural science, which the recent Latin translations of the works of the great Greek thinker Aristotle were opening up to the Western world. 'No one,' wrote his famous pupil, Roger Bacon, in after-days, 'really knew the sciences except the Lord Robert, Bishop of Lincoln . . . and, at the same time, he was sufficiently acquainted with languages to be able to understand the saints and the philosophers and the wise men of antiquity.' Grosseteste's writings, of which many have been preserved, bear witness to the wide range of his reading, and the love of truth which led him to distrust second-hand knowledge, to go straight to original sources, and to 'drink from the fountain head.' Thus he learnt Greek and Hebrew, then most rare accomplishments, that he might read the Bible in the languages in which it was written, and in his scientific studies he would not accept conclusions till he had tested them by observation and experiment. So profound was his knowledge of mathematics and natural science that the 'grete (*great*) clerk Gros-test' was by later generations supposed to have had supernatural powers. With all this weight of learning, Grosseteste was no mere dry pedant, but full of human love and sympathy, and quick to turn his theoretical knowledge to practical account. His charm of manner,

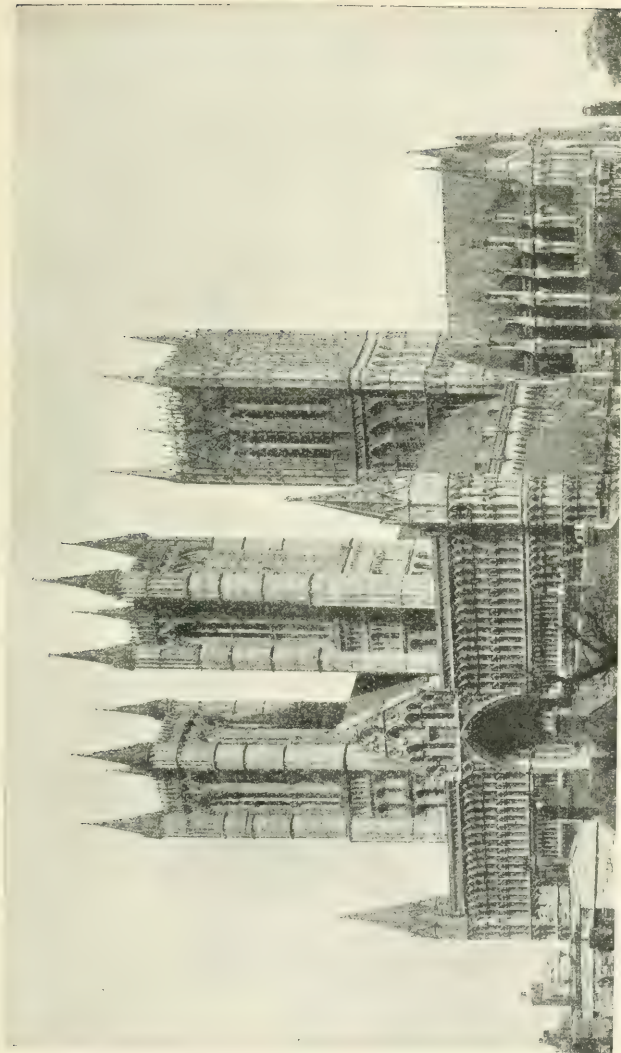
his love of music, his playful humour and genial hospitality, were long remembered by his contemporaries. He lectured to his pupils at Oxford, and taught them how to teach others. He preached in Latin to the learned, but in English to the unlearned. He appealed to courtly tastes by composing an allegory of the Christian faith in the form of a French romance of chivalry, the 'Chateau d'Amour,' or 'Castle of Love.' He drew up a treatise on 'The Rule of a Kingdom and a Tyranny,' for the political instruction of Simon de Montfort, and he wrote in French the 'Rules of St. Robert,' to teach the widowed Countess of Lincoln how to manage her household and estates.

It was probably this interest in the practical side of life which drew Grosseteste during his Oxford days into close relations with the Mendicant Friars, the social reformers of the time. But when in 1235 he became Bishop of Lincoln, he was called on to take a more direct part in public affairs and to carry on that alliance of the Church with the national party which dated from the winning of the Great Charter. There was ample scope for reforming zeal, both in Church and State, with Henry III. on the English throne, and the war between Pope and Emperor raging on the Continent. Henry, the 'waxen-hearted king,' vacillating and fickle, was the puppet of foreign favourites. The arrogant Pope Gregory IX., who succeeded Honorius III. in 1227, was exorbitant in his demands for money from England, which he regarded as his fief in virtue of John's submission. After the death of William the Marshal, the leadership of the national party fell to the Justiciar Hubert de Burgh, supported by Archbishop Stephen Langton. Their aim was to keep 'England for the English,' and to defeat the policy of the foreign

party, which was represented by the king's guardian, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. King John's foreign favourites were forced to surrender their castles. Fawkes de Breauté, the Norman adventurer, who was 'more than a king in England,' and sheriff of six counties, was banished, and in 1227 the king dismissed Peter des Roches, and announced his intention of governing for himself.

But in 1228 Stephen Langton died, just as the Pope's extortions were provoking popular riots in England. The king, strongly Papal in his sympathies, probably suspected the Justiciar of fostering anti-papal feeling. He resented also his cautious foreign policy. In 1231 Peter des Roches returned, and regained his old influence, and in the following year Hubert de Burgh was charged with a long list of crimes, dragged from the church in which he had taken sanctuary, and imprisoned. 'Is not this,' said the smith who was bidden to fetter the Justiciar, 'that most faithful and high-minded Hubert, who so often saved England from the ravages of foreigners, and restored England to the English? I will die rather than fetter him.'

The triumph of Peter des Roches was short-lived. By placing foreigners in positions of trust and profit he roused the distrust of the English, and the forces of opposition found a leader in Richard, second son of William the Marshal, who by his elder brother's death had become Earl of Pembroke and Earl Marshal. When the king met the demand for the dismissal of alien counsellors by proclaiming the Earl Marshal a traitor, and refusing him trial by his peers, Richard took up arms and allied with the Welsh. Hubert de Burgh escaped from prison and joined him, and civil war broke out. But Peter des Roches organized an



LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

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attack on the Irish estates of the Earl Marshal, and when he hurried over to defend them he was betrayed by his followers, instigated by the Bishop of Winchester, and fell, mortally wounded, into the hands of his enemies. Yet even before his death his cause had been won, for the newly-consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Rich, threw his influence on the national side, and forced the king by a threat of excommunication to dismiss Peter des Roches and his other foreign advisers.

Such was the state of the kingdom when Grosseteste, the friend of Richard Marshal and the pupil of Edmund Rich, was installed as bishop in the beautiful cathedral which still looks down from its hill on the ancient Roman city of Lincoln. For a time the care of his diocese was all-engrossing. The Church of England needed reform from within as well as from without. The 'secular,' or non-monastic, clergy were ignorant and careless, the 'regular' clergy or monks were proud and worldly. Grosseteste set himself to raise the standard of conduct and education of the secular clergy, and to rouse the monks from self-indulgence and indolence. He refused to appoint uneducated men or boys to benefices; he sternly reprimanded a deacon who appeared before him in scarlet and jewels. The parish clergy, he taught, should be sober in dress and habits, true shepherds of the flock, living and working amongst their people. Hence, he opposed the practice of granting benefices to monasteries or other non-resident 'rectors,' who took the tithes and put in an underpaid and often incompetent priest to do the work as 'vicar,' and insisted that in such cases properly endowed and permanent 'vicarages' should be established. These reforms, which Grosseteste enforced by personally visiting all parts of his

diocese, met with much resistance, and involved him in a struggle with the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. Yet even those who thought him over-zealous in the work of internal discipline welcomed his fearless defence of the external rights of the Church, and looked to him for protection against royal and Papal oppression. A loyal subject and a devout son of the Papacy, Grosse-teste nevertheless held that obedience was only due to the king when his commands were righteous, and to the Pope when his decrees accorded with Apostolic teaching. Thus, he did not scruple to withstand Henry III. when he exceeded the powers of the secular courts in ecclesiastical cases, or forced his own nominees into bishoprics; and when Pope and king combined to plunder the English Church and people, the national cause had no more ardent supporter than the Bishop of Lincoln.

The hopes which the fall of Peter des Roches had raised had been quickly disappointed. In 1236 the king married Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence, and fell under the sway of her uncle, William, bishop-elect of Valence, in Savoy. Foreign and Papal influences were once more all-powerful in England. In 1240 the Pope's Legate, Cardinal Otho, crowned a long course of extortion by demanding the presentation to three hundred English benefices for his master. In the same year Archbishop Edmund Rich died, and was succeeded by the queen's uncle, Boniface of Savoy, and in 1242 the king's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, whose first wife had been Richard Marshal's sister, and who for some years had led the constitutional opposition, threw in his lot with the royal party, and married a sister of the queen. National discontent reached its height when the king, after an inglorious campaign in

Gascony, returned to England with a fresh swarm of foreigners in his train, and with fresh demands for money to pay his war expenses.

Common grievances strengthened the sense of national unity. In 1244 a committee of twelve representatives of the prelates, earls, and barons, including Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort, was formed to treat with the king, and when Henry, unwilling to grant their demands for the appointment of ministers and the reform of government, urged the bishops to make a separate agreement, Grosseteste replied in the memorable words: 'We may not be divided from the common counsel; for it is written, if we be divided, we shall all straightway die.' A scheme was even drawn up for restraining the king's power by a permanent body of four councillors, chosen by common assent. The principle that the whole nation, the 'community of the realm,' ought to have a voice in national affairs was recognized, never again to be wholly lost sight of. But for the moment ecclesiastical grievances outweighed all others. Pope Innocent IV., who succeeded Gregory IX. in 1243, sent over an envoy, 'Master Martin,' whose demands were so extortionate that the clergy, 'crushed between the hammer and the anvil,' 'ground between two millstones,' the king and the Pope, were reduced to despair. Even the king refused to protect the rapacious Martin, and he was ignominiously hunted out of the country. The following year, 1245, in the Great Council which Innocent IV. held at Lyons, to depose the Emperor Frederick II., representatives of the 'community of England' laid a statement of grievances before the Pope, complaining of the exactions of Master Martin, and of the appointment of foreigners to English benefices, and declaring that the Italians in England

received more than 60,000 marks (£40,000) yearly, and that their revenue from the kingdom exceeded that of the king. In spite of remonstrances, however, Papal and royal exactions continued, and the constitutional opposition dragged on somewhat half-heartedly.

Meanwhile, Grosseteste was working for the freedom of Church and State, denouncing the practice of Papal 'provisions,' or presentations to English benefices, which had reached such a pitch that the incomes of foreign clerks in England amounted to more than three times the king's annual revenue, refusing to appoint the Pope's nephew to an English canonry, and sharing the attempts of the Great Council to bind the king to the observation of the charters and the reform of the administration. He retained, moreover, his zeal for learning, busied himself with translations from the Greek, and took a lively interest in the development of the University of Oxford.

To this period, also, belongs his friendship with Simon de Montfort and his wife. It was to Grosseteste's care that De Montfort entrusted his eldest and youngest sons, Henry and Aymer, during his absence from England. It was Grosseteste who supported him when he was tried for his misgovernment in Gascony, and when, in the following year, the Bishop of Lincoln lay on his death-bed, one of his last cares was to reconcile the Earl of Leicester with the king.

In the autumn of 1253 Grosseteste passed to rest, prophesying, almost with his latest breath, that the Church would only be freed from its 'Egyptian bondage at the point of the blood-stained sword.'

'Thus,' wrote the chronicler Matthew Paris, 'departed from the exile of this world the holy Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, an open rebuker of Pope and king,

the corrector of bishops and the reformer of monks, the director of priests, the instructor of clerks, the supporter of scholars, the preacher to the people, the unwearied student of the Scriptures, the hammer and despiser of the Romans.'

On the night of his death, men said, wondrous melodies were heard in the air, like the sweet and solemn ringing of bells. Miracles were soon reported to have been worked at his tomb in Lincoln Cathedral, and though the Pope refused him formal canonization, he was, in the words of a seventeenth-century writer,* accounted a saint, 'though not in the Pope's, yet in the people's calendar.'

* Thomas Fuller.

FRIAR ADAM MARSH, THE ILLUSTRIOUS DOCTOR.

A FEW years after the death of Robert Grosseteste a grave was opened in Lincoln Cathedral, between his tomb and the southern wall, to receive the body of his friend and disciple Friar Adam de Marisco, 'God so providing,' says the chronicler, 'that as they were lovely and pleasant in their lives, in their deaths they should not be divided.' Adam de Marisco, or Adam Marsh, an Oxford student, called for his learning 'the Illustrious Doctor,' entered the Franciscan Order soon after its establishment in England, and dedicated his life to the service of God and man in the Oxford convent of the Grey Friars.

The thirteenth century saw a revival of religion and a new ideal of the religious life, which took practical form in the two great Orders of Mendicant Friars, the 'beggar brothers' (*fratres*), the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who emphasized the virtues of voluntary poverty and brotherly-kindness. The older religious Orders had met the most pressing needs of their age; they had softened the rudeness of secular life, and had reclaimed and cultivated the waste places of the earth. But they had failed to advance with the times, and had become corrupted by prosperity. It was reserved for the Friars to direct the social movement of the

thirteenth century, and to give religion a new popularity by bringing it home to men's hearts and lives.

St. Dominic, a Spaniard, founded a preaching Order to win men by argument and persuasion. St. Francis of Assisi, an Italian, gave up home and friends and wealth for Christ's sake, and went forth in absolute poverty to win men by the sheer force of love. The Dominicans, Black Friars, or Friars Preachers, appealed to the reason and the intellect; the Franciscans, Grey Friars or Minorites, touched the heart and stirred the emotions. The Dominicans were preachers and theologians; they were the 'watch-dogs of the Lord' (*Domini canes*), protectors of the true flock against heretic wolves. The Franciscans were social reformers, missionaries to the poor and degraded, the sick and needy, physicians of the body as well as of the soul. Both Orders were recognized by Pope Innocent III. early in the thirteenth century. The success of both was great and immediate. The Dominicans came to England in 1220, and settled at Canterbury, in London, and at Oxford. Four years later, in 1224, nine Franciscans landed at Dover, penniless, barefooted, and bareheaded, and clothed in gowns of the coarsest cloth. From Dover they went to Canterbury, London, Oxford, and other towns, begging their bread, sheltering in mud huts amongst the poorest of the people, ministering to the miserable and neglected, preaching in simple language the Christian charity of which they were living examples. Their heroic self-devotion won them many followers. In little more than thirty years there were forty-nine Franciscan settlements in England. But the centre of their influence remained the convent which they had built at Oxford, and the school in which 'Master Robert Grosseteste' lectured to the

brethren. 'Here,' says their historian, 'the Sweet Jesus sowed a grain of mustard-seed which afterwards grew greater than all herbs.' The Oxford school became the training-ground of philosophers and theologians, the nucleus of a widespread educational system, whence popular preachers and teachers went forth to all parts of the known world. For even in their pursuit of knowledge the Franciscans sought practical and charitable ends. They studied natural science that they might the better exercise the art of healing. They read philosophy and theology as a preparation for missionary work. As the Barefoot Friars wandered through the country-side, preaching to the people in the English tongue, with parables and stories and jests to catch their attention, they carried their ideal of humility, poverty, and self-sacrifice into the daily life of lonely farm and outlying hamlet, crowded street and busy workshop, 'making themselves all things to all men, if by any means they might save some.' 'They went forth,' wrote a contemporary chronicler, 'by sevens and tens, preaching the word of life through the towns and in the parish churches, and even amongst the field labourers they planted the roots of virtue.'

As we read the simple record of the labours of the English Franciscans, there rises out of the dim past some faint picture of the homely everyday life of those bygone times, the life of town and village, of manor-house and baronial hall, of convent and University.

England in the thirteenth century was an agricultural country, a land of woods and forests, of wide heaths, open commons, and cultivated fields, lying round the villages and hamlets, which, with their mud and wattle cottages, clustered about the stone or half-timbered

manor-house and the parish church. There the peasants—'villeins,' or men of the village—lived their humble, toilsome lives. They were for the more part regarded by law as unfree, and were bound to perform certain services for the lord of the manor, or to render him certain dues. They might not leave their holdings, or marry their daughters, or have their sons ordained, without the lord's consent, and in theory all their property belonged to him, and he could turn them out of house and home at will. But practically they enjoyed a good deal of liberty, and seem as yet to have been moderately contented with their lot. They had their portions or 'strips' in the two or three great common fields which lay outside the village, separated by banks of turf, and village ploughs to till these fields, with yokes of oxen, often as many as eight to a plough, to draw them. They enjoyed rights over the waste land beyond the village, and in the woodlands, where they gathered fuel. They had garden plots about their little homesteads, and kept pigs and poultry, while within their cottages they treasured their few household goods and the bow and arrows with which, from the middle of the thirteenth century, they had to provide themselves for the defence of the realm. On highdays and holidays there were sports and merry-making, dancing and singing, rough games and drinking-bouts, while from time to time wandering jesters and mountebanks would relieve the monotony of the daily round. There would always be the excitement, too, of the cases pending in the lord's manorial court or 'hall-moot,' in which the villeins acted as 'presenters' and accusers of small offenders, and as jurors in the trials of unfree men and women, and not unfrequently the blowing of a horn would summon the villagers from their work or

their beds to join the 'hue and cry' after a fugitive thief or murderer.

Interspersed amidst the lowly huts of the peasants rose the more substantial homes of the free tenants and the yeomen, the lord's mill where the corn of the village was ground, and the 'rectory' or 'vicarage' of the



MATTHEW PARIS DYING.

(From a MS.)

parish priest, or, perhaps, hard by the village precincts would lie one of the great religious houses where, side by side with the life of rustic labour, went on the work of thought and education, as the monks, in grey-walled, peaceful cloisters, toiled at their exquisite illuminated service-books, or wrote the chronicles and annals which have preserved for us the memory of a vanished past.

It is worthy of note that while the greater number of these chroniclers, such as Matthew Paris, the monk of St. Albans, wrote in Latin, two—Layamon, in the early thirteenth century, and Robert of Gloucester, in the time of Henry III.—wrote in English verse. Proverbs, romances, and popular songs and poems, were also now written in English, for the English-speaking people were awakening to a feeling of national pride, and beginning to desire to read and hear of the noble deeds of Englishmen.

It was in the towns, however, rather than in the country, that the spread of education and the quickening of popular intelligence and of interest in public questions was most marked. The English towns at the end of the thirteenth century were still mainly country towns, markets for the rural produce of the neighbourhood—corn, hay, and cattle—and centres of the county business, where the shire-moots were held. The export trade of England consisted almost entirely in wool; there were few manufactures, and the burgesses seem often to have combined farming with trade, and to have kept the animals, which they had a right to turn out on the common pasture, in yards attached to their town houses. The nobles and the country gentry produced most of the necessities of their households at home, and bought many of their luxuries at the great fairs which were held every year in various parts of England. Still, English trade had been growing in importance under the Angevin kings, and English towns had won charters and privileges and a large share of self-government from Henry II. and his sons. The merchants had formed merchant-guilds to manage the commercial affairs of the borough, and the handicraftsmen or artisans had banded them-

selves together in craft-guilds, to protect the interests of particular trades, such as weaving, leather-selling, or baking. Many boroughs, moreover, had won the right to a 'commune,' or organized town council under a mayor, which managed all municipal affairs and collected the town taxes.

Oxford, which won charters from both Henry II. and Henry III., and played an important part in the political struggles of the thirteenth century, the home of the University, and one of the chief settlements of the Franciscans, summed up in itself the main elements in the life of an English mediæval town. A wall, rebuilt and guarded with bastions and battlements in the reign of Henry III., towered above the moat or city ditch, and at each point of the compass a fortified gate gave access to the city. In the west, the grey Norman castle-tower, beside the still more ancient grassy mound-fort, looked out over the misty river-meadows to the stately abbey of Osney. To the south, the modest buildings of the Grey Friars nestled close within the wall, and the settlement of the Black Friars lay just without it. Within the walls, above the narrow, ill-paved streets and the low, timber-framed houses, rose the priory of St. Frideswyde, with its round-arched Norman chapel, the city church of St. Martin, where four ways met in the centre of the town, the University church of St. Mary, and the two churches of St. Michael beside the northern and southern gates, while in the heart of the city clustered the stone houses of the Jews, and the schools in which lectures were given to the students. Life in the little town must have been stormy and exciting enough; there were frequent fights, in which the Chancellor of the University had to interfere, between the townsmen and the

'gownsmen,' or students, and between the students and the Jews. The Chancellor and proctors and the municipal authorities had to see, also, that the Assize of Bread and Ale, which regulated the quality and price of food, was observed. There were strict regulations for keeping order in the town, too, and for making people responsible for one another, and by the end of the thirteenth century the earliest Colleges for students—Merton, University and Balliol—had already been founded.

But on the outskirts of this well-ordered little community, in the marshy ground by the river, lay the miserable hovels of the very poor, where, among outcasts and beggars, lepers and idiots, the Franciscans passed to and fro on their errands of mercy. Amongst them Adam Marsh was a prominent figure. He was the first friar who lectured on theology in the Oxford school, and as the intimate friend and constant correspondent of the great Bishop of Lincoln, he took an active share in the public life of his time. He was sent on missions to Rome and France: he went with Grosseteste in 1245 to the Council of Lyons; he was the adviser of the king and queen and of the Earl and Countess of Leicester, yet withal he was a scholar, a theologian, and a mathematician, and the friend and patron of all who were in distress and needed his help. His letters show how wide were his sympathies, how varied were his interests, and how full were his days of useful work. He writes to the Earl of Leicester to console him for his troubles in connection with Gascony, or to tell him what progress his children are making under Grosseteste's care. He reproves the Countess of Leicester for her hot temper and love of dress. He recommends a promising novice to the

Abbess of Godstow, near Oxford. He takes infinite pains over the affairs of a poor friendless woman, or of an Oxford tradesman who cannot get his bills paid. He joins in the political speculations and reforming schemes of Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort; he sends Grosseteste's treatise on 'The Rule of a Kingdom



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SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, THIRTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWING 'EARLY
ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.'

and a Tyranny' to the Earl of Leicester, and discusses eagerly the state of the kingdom, and how it may be bettered.

The exact date of the death of Adam Marsh is uncertain, but he probably lived to see the beginning

of the realization of his political ideals in the 'Mad Parliament' of 1258, when Oxford was the centre of the public life of the kingdom, and surged with the strife of parties, and when the Franciscans became 'the spokesmen of the constitutional movement,' and composed, in all likelihood, the political songs, Latin, French, and English, in support of the baronial cause, which spread the principles of the reforming party amongst the English people.

Of all the writings which won Friar Adam in his own day the title of the 'Illustrious' or 'Marvellous' doctor, only his letters have survived. But he left a lasting record in the famous Franciscan School at Oxford, which he did so much to establish and organize. It was Friar Roger Bacon, a student in that school, the most gifted mathematician and man of science, and one of the most profound philosophers of mediæval England, who wrote of his masters: 'Grosseteste and Adam Marsh rank among the greatest clerks of the world; they were perfect in divine and human wisdom.'

SIMON DE MONTFORT, THE PROTECTOR OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

(*Died 1265.*)

THE deaths of Grosseteste and of Adam Marsh left Simon de Montfort to fight the battle of English freedom alone. The great Earl of Leicester, whom all Englishmen agree to honour as the champion of their national liberties, was himself of foreign origin. His grandfather, a younger son of the Norman house of Montfort, married the sister and coheiress of the last Earl of Leicester of the Beaumont line; his father, the famous Simon de Montfort, who led the crusade against the heretics of Southern France, bore the title of Earl of Leicester, though he probably never visited England. After his death his eldest son Amauri resigned his claims on the English earldom in favour of his brother Simon, who succeeded in winning the favour of Henry III., and was confirmed by him in his father's share of the Leicester estates and dignities.

In 1238 Simon married the English king's sister, Eleanor, widow of the younger William Marshal. The marriage gave offence to the baronage, who looked on De Montfort as a foreign intruder. It was asserted that Eleanor had taken a vow of perpetual widowhood, and could not lawfully marry again, but Simon silenced

objections by going to Rome and obtaining a Papal dispensation. He was now formally recognized as Earl of Leicester and Hereditary Steward of England, but in 1239 a quarrel with the king forced him to withdraw to France. In the following year, after reconciling himself with Henry III., he went on Crusade, returning in time to take part in the disastrous campaign in Gascony in 1242; and in 1244 he formed one of the committee of twelve commissioned by the Great Council to treat with the king.

In 1248 Henry III. appointed the Earl of Leicester his Lieutenant or viceroy in Gascony—a thankless office, for the province was discontented and rebellious, the nobles were lawless bandits, the towns were turbulent and independent, and the kings of France, Navarre, Aragon, and Castile were ready to take advantage of England's weakness. For four years De Montfort laboured to restore peace to the country, repressing insurrections with a high hand and with scant regard for mercy or justice, hurrying over to England to plead for supplies, spending his own money in the cause of order, and finally compelled to stand a trial in the king's court on a charge of cruelty and injustice in his administration—a charge, it is to be feared, not entirely without foundation, though probably exaggerated by the malice of his enemies. Although Henry III. supported the earl's Gascon accusers, the majority of the English nobles took his part, and he was acquitted. In a fit of anger Henry called him 'traitor.' 'Were not the king protected by his royal dignity,' cried Simon, 'it would have been an evil hour for him in which he uttered such a word!' Withdrawing from his post in Gascony, he retired to France, but when fresh Gascon complications arose he generously came

to the king's help, moved, it is said, by the entreaties of the dying Grosseteste, 'his confessor and dear friend.'

His affection for Henry III. had now given place to an unconquerable distrust, and he returned to England in 1254 to identify himself more and more closely with the constitutional opposition, which had been growing in intensity during his absence. In 1253 the king had been forced to swear to observe the Charters, and a solemn sentence of excommunication had been pronounced against all who should impugn them. In 1254 and 1255 the royal demands for supplies had been met by counter-demands for redress of grievances. Meantime Henry had incurred fresh obligations by accepting the kingdom of Sicily from the Pope for his younger son Edmund, and thus involving himself in the quarrel between the Empire and the Papacy.

Famine, pestilence, and disturbances on the Welsh and Scotch marches added to the general discontent, which reached its height in 1257, when the king demanded a ruinous sum from his subjects to defray his debt to the Pope, Alexander IV., who succeeded Innocent IV. in 1254, and was trying to wrest the Sicilian crown from the descendants of the Emperor Frederick II. 'The ears of the clergy tingled' at Henry's rapacity, and they accompanied their grant of money with a list of grievances. The barons appeared in arms in the Council, and demanded the expulsion of the king's foreign favourites and the appointment of a commission of reform. The days of the Great Charter seemed to have returned. In the 'Mad Parliament,' which met at Oxford in June, 1258, the barons presented a 'petition' containing a long list of grievances, and a committee of twenty-four, twelve from the king's party

and twelve from 'the community of the barons,' proceeded to draw up the 'Provisions of Oxford,' a scheme for the government of the kingdom and the restriction of the power of the king.

The barons petitioned against the way in which both the old feudal dues and the new administrative system of Henry II. were used for purposes of extortion. The rights of marriage and wardship were abused, the local courts were held too frequently and fines were exacted for non-attendance, the justices and sheriffs took bribes for executing the law. The remedy was sought in the appointment of responsible ministers, alike in the central administration and in local government. A permanent Council of fifteen, elected by four representatives of the committee of twenty-four, was, by the 'Provisions of Oxford,' appointed to govern the kingdom and to supervise the king, who was bound to consult it in all important matters. The great officers of State, Justiciar, Chancellor and Treasurer, and the sheriffs, were alike to give an annual account of their offices. The sheriffs were to be chosen from the well-to-do country gentry, to be paid by the king, and to be forbidden to take gifts or bribes. Three times a year a body of twelve, representing the baronage, was to meet the Council of fifteen in a 'Parliament,' to discuss 'the common needs' on behalf of 'the community of the land.' The reform of the Church was entrusted to the original committee of twenty-four, and a new committee of twenty-four barons and bishops was chosen to consider the question of granting an aid to the king. The aliens were forced to surrender their castles, and fled from the country after a slight show of resistance. Hugh Bigod, the brother of the Earl of Norfolk, was appointed Justiciar. The king and his son Edward

swore to observe the Provisions, and the City of London signified its adhesion to the popular cause.

In all these exciting scenes Simon de Montfort played an active part. He was a member of both the committees of twenty-four and of the Council of fifteen. It was he who cut short the refusal of the king's half-brother, William de Valence, to surrender his fortresses, with the curt words: 'Your castles or your life.' He was one of the messengers sent to obtain the consent of the Londoners to the Provisions; and the king's dread of his influence is shown by the story that when, in the summer of 1258, De Montfort offered him shelter from a heavy storm, Henry exclaimed: 'Thunder and lightning I fear beyond measure, but I fear thee more than all the thunder and lightning in the world!'

But the barons, who had won their victory by loyal co-operation, drifted apart when the immediate necessity for united action was over. In 1259 so fierce a quarrel broke out between the Earls of Gloucester and Leicester that De Montfort withdrew to France, saying: 'I care not to live with men so false and fickle.' It is probable that Gloucester cared less for principles than for power, and that his main object was to secure the ascendancy of the nobles in the government, whereas Leicester, whose thoughts had been turned to the theoretical side of politics by his intercourse with Grosseteste and Adam Marsh, was constant throughout to the cause of constitutional freedom.

During De Montfort's absence the reforms promised in 1258 dragged slowly on, until at the close of the year a protest, supported by the young prince Edward, led to the issue of the ordinances called the 'Provisions of Westminster,' which remedied most of the abuses complained of in the Petition of the Barons. On the day

when these 'Provisions' were published the heralds proclaimed in London that peace had been concluded with France by the Treaty of Paris, which finally ceded to the French king the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. The Earl of Leicester was present with his wife at the solemn confirmation of the treaty in December, 1259.

But peace abroad meant renewed strife at home. The history of the next three years is a tangled tale of intrigue and party changes, of faithlessness and divided counsel. In 1261 the king announced that the Pope had absolved him from his oath to observe the Provisions, and appointed a Justiciar and sheriffs from his own adherents. The danger reunited the baronial party for a brief space; but the king won over the Earl of Gloucester, and persuaded him to refer the questions at issue to arbitration. De Montfort, indignant at this 'apostasy,' left England, declaring that he would rather die a landless man than perjure himself and depart from truth.

He returned in the spring of 1263, to find Gloucester dead, and his son, the young Earl, Gilbert de Clare, heart and soul on the constitutional side. The king's refusal to recognize the Provisions was the signal for civil war. After ravaging the West, the Earl of Leicester advanced on Dover. The king, shut up in the Tower amidst the unfriendly Londoners, who attacked and insulted the queen when she tried to join her son at Windsor, opened negotiations. De Montfort entered London, the prince Edward submitted, and the victory of the constitutional cause seemed complete.

But divisions amongst the barons again prevented them from pressing home their advantage, and by the end of the year both parties agreed to submit to the

arbitration of Louis IX. of France. His award—the ‘Mise of Amiens’—was issued in January, 1264. It annulled the Provisions, decreed that all castles were to be restored to the king, and empowered him to appoint to all offices of State and to employ aliens. The work of 1258 was undone at a stroke.

The ‘Mise of Amiens’ rekindled the flames of civil war. There was no thought of abiding by its decisions. De Montfort entered into alliance with the Welsh and with London, and fortified the Midland strongholds of Northampton, Leicester, and Nottingham. At first fortune favoured the royalists. Northampton was betrayed into the king’s hands, Leicester was sacked, and Nottingham surrendered. Meanwhile De Montfort, after failing to take Rochester Castle, fell back on London. Henry relieved Rochester, took Tonbridge, and marched along the south coast to support the Cinque Ports. Early in May he reached Lewes—a picturesque little town nestling between the river Ouse and the South Downs. De Montfort followed with all speed, and, after some futile negotiations, swooped down upon the royal army from the rolling slopes of the Downs on the morning of May 14. Leaving his banner on the hill attached to his chariot, Simon disposed his men in four bodies or ‘battles.’ The right wing was led by his sons, in the centre was Gilbert of Gloucester, and on the left wing were the Londoners. Simon himself was in the rear with the reserve.

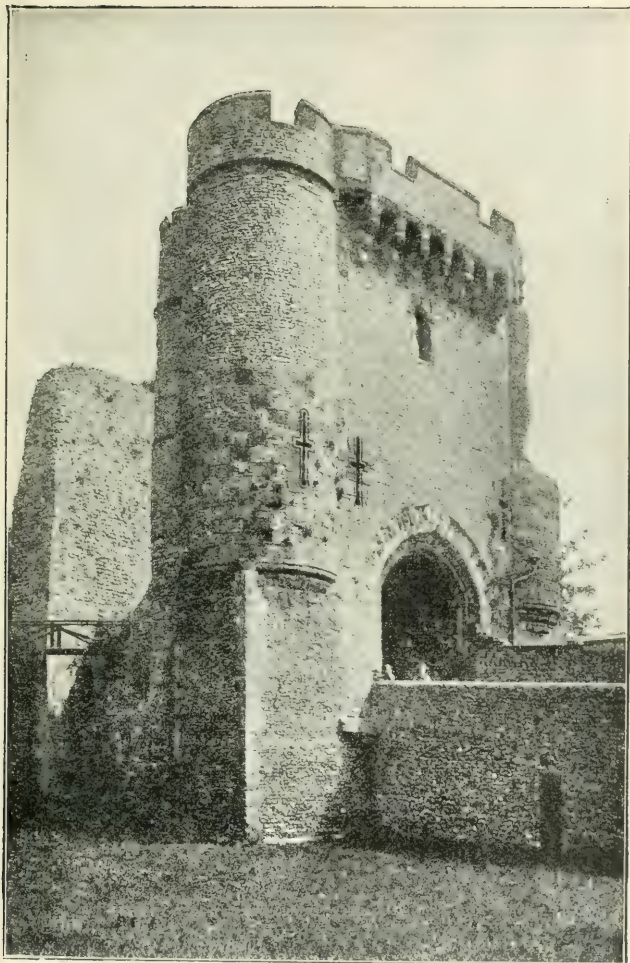
Commending themselves to God, the baronial forces marched down the hill. The royalists formed up hurriedly to meet them, with the king on the left under the dragon standard, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in the centre, and the prince Edward on the right. Burning to avenge the insults offered by the Londoners to his

mother, Edward broke their ranks in a furious charge, and pursued them for three miles. On his way back he saw De Montfort's banner and chariot, and, thinking to find the earl, who had only recently recovered from a broken leg, he paused, with cries of, 'Come out, Simon, thou devil!' to destroy the chariot, and slaughter the men left to guard it. He returned from his rash charge to find the battle lost, the king blockaded in Lewes Priory, and Richard of Cornwall, who had held out for some time in a windmill, a prisoner. Edward succeeded in cutting his way through to his father, only to join with him at nightfall in suing for peace.

By the 'Mise of Lewes' the king agreed to submit the Provisions to arbitration, to call only Englishmen to his Council, to moderate his expenses, to pardon the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and to give his son Edward and his nephew Henry as hostages. De Montfort proceeded to appoint wardens of the castles, and 'guardians of the peace' to keep order in the counties, and to summon four knights from each shire to attend the Parliament, which met in London in June.

In this Parliament a new scheme of government was drawn up. Three 'electors' were to choose nine 'councillors,' of whom three were to be in constant attendance on the king, and to act as the real governing body of the realm, by whose advice all official appointments were made. Electors, councillors, and all royal officials were to be Englishmen, sworn to be faithful to their trust. The Charters were confirmed, and a general amnesty was declared.

Once more, as in 1215 and in 1258, the arbitrary power of the monarchy had been curbed by the baronial leaders of a national opposition. But in 1258 a bloodless revolution had resulted in a somewhat clumsy



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THE BARBICAN OF LEWES CASTLE.

system of committee government. In 1264, a victory, won at the point of the sword, left De Montfort the practical master of England—king in all but name—for the three electors with whom rested the choice of the administrative Council of nine were the Earl of Leicester and his devoted adherents, the Earl of Gloucester and the Bishop of Chichester. The opportunity had come for Simon to realize those dreams of ‘the ideal government of souls and bodies’ in which he had indulged with Grosseteste and Adam Marsh. A Latin poem, written probably soon after the Battle of Lewes by a warm partisan of the Earl of Leicester, embodies that constitutional theory of a monarchy limited by law which all through the Middle Ages is found opposed to the theory of absolutism—the doctrine of a king above the law.

Henry III. had thought, as his father had thought before him, that the king’s will was law. But the Law says, ‘By me kings reign.’ True liberty is bounded by law, and the true king is he who dares not do evil; for the king is not set over his subjects that he may live for himself, but that he may cherish and protect his people. The poet seeks a remedy for the disorder of the kingdom in a responsible ministry, acting by the advice of the ‘community’; and it is the justification of Simon de Montfort that to him the ‘community’ meant something wider than his own order, the baronage. He rested his government on the support of that great middle class which was just rising into prominence, and thus deservedly won the proud title of ‘Protector of the English people’ (*Protector gentis Angliæ*).

In 1264, when the queen threatened invasion from France, it was a national army that gathered from the English shires to defend the coast. When the Papal

Legate excommunicated the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the majority of the English clergy stood by them. In 1265 De Montfort signalized his alliance with the country gentry and the trading classes by summoning to Parliament both knights of the shire and representatives of cities and boroughs.

But the forces which were against Simon were stronger than those which were with him. His sons were arrogant and unpopular, the barons were jealous of his power, the Earl of Gloucester was discontented and vacillating, the Marcher lords were restless, and the aliens were beginning to return. In May, 1265, the prince Edward escaped from Hereford and put himself at the head of the opposition. He won over the Earl of Gloucester by promising to observe the ancient laws and not to admit aliens to power, and the Marchers joined him. De Montfort tried to strengthen himself by an alliance with the Welsh, but Edward seized the towns of Worcester and Gloucester, and hemmed the earl in beyond the Severn by breaking the bridges, guarding the line of the river, and destroying De Montfort's ships in the Bristol Channel. When Simon's son and namesake marched to his father's relief he was surprised at Kenilworth by Edward, and utterly routed.

On Sunday, August 2, 1265, the Earl of Leicester at last succeeded in crossing the Severn below Worcester. Two days later he reached Evesham, where he hoped that his son's reinforcements would join him. The royalist forces advanced in three bodies from separate points, and converged on the town, which lies in a loop of the river Avon. 'God have mercy on our souls,' said De Montfort when he saw the approaching armies, 'for our bodies are our foes!' His son Henry urged

him to escape. He was too old, he replied, to begin to fly from battle. His followers, when he in turn begged them to save themselves, were equally firm. 'Come, then,' said the old earl, 'let us die like men.' As Edward's troops drew near, De Montfort exclaimed: 'By the arm of St. James, they come on well! They learnt that from me.' Gathering his forces, he attacked the royalists with the courage of despair. In the fierce hand-to-hand fight that followed, his son Henry fell. 'Now is it time for me to die,' cried Simon, throwing himself into the thickest of the fray. Not deigning to reply to the shouts of 'Yield, traitor, yield!' he sank mortally wounded, and breathed out his spirit in the words 'Dieu merci,' fulfilling thus the prophecy of Grosseteste that Henry de Montfort and his father should die in one day for the cause of truth and justice.

After Simon's death the battle became a mere massacre, and even the earl's dead body is said to have been horribly mutilated by his savage foes. But his friends told how, on the Sunday before the battle, a boy brought to be healed at the tomb of Grosseteste, waking from a trance, bade his parents return home, for the bishop had gone to Evesham, 'to help his brother Simon, who was to die there.'

*'Such was the murder of Evesham, for battle none it was.'**

'Thus,' wrote a contemporary historian, 'ended his labours the illustrious Earl Simon, who spent not only his goods, but his life, in delivering the poor from oppression and in establishing justice and liberty.' Like St. Thomas of Canterbury, with whom his followers delighted to compare him, De Montfort

* Robert of Gloucester.

triumphed in defeat. The pride, the ambition and the overbearing temper which had marred his fair fame in life were forgotten in the memory of his tragic death and of his strength and steadfastness. His name passed into popular song and tradition. Services were written and hymns composed in honour of 'Sir Simon, the Righteous.' Miracles were performed at his tomb and on the scene of his 'martyrdom,' and as early as 1266 it was found necessary to forbid the English people to honour Simon, Earl of Leicester, as a saint.

SONG AGAINST RICHARD OF CORNWALL.

Sitteth all still and herkneth to me :
 The King of Alemaigne,* by my loyalty,
 Thirty thousand pound asked he
 For to make the peace in the country,
 And so he did more.

Richard, though thou be ever trichard (*a deceiver*)
 Trichen shalt thou never more.

* * * * *

The King of Alemaigne weened do full well,
 He seized the mill for a castle,
 With their sharp swords they ground the steel,
 He weened that the sails were mangonel
 To help Windsor.

Richard, etc.

The King of Alemaigne gathered his host,
 Made him a castle of a mill post,
 Went with his pride and his mickle (*great*) boast,
 Brought from Alemaigne many sorry ghost
 To store Windsor.

Richard, etc.

* *Germany*. Richard was King of the Romans and Emperor-elect.

EDWARD I., THE HAMMER OF THE SCOTS.

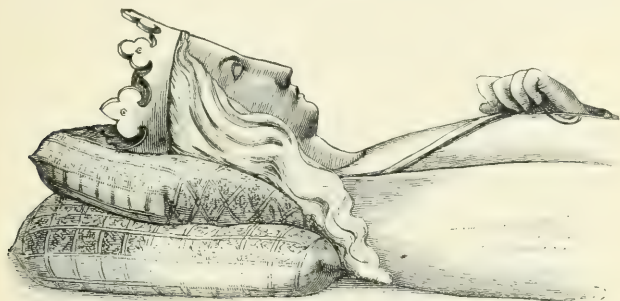
(1239—1307.)

GREAT was the rejoicing throughout England when, in the summer of the year 1239, an heir to the Crown was born at Westminster. Great was the dissatisfaction when Henry III. seized the opportunity to wring substantial offerings from his subjects. 'God gave us this child,' said the people, 'but the king sells him to us.'

The baby was baptized by the name of Edward, in honour of Edward the Confessor. His uncles—Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and Simon, Earl of Leicester—were his godfathers, and his childish playmates were his cousins—Henry of Cornwall, his fellow-hostage after Lewes, and Henry de Montfort, who fell fighting against him at Evesham. He grew up tall and slight, rosy-cheeked and yellow-haired, a keen sportsman, skilful in feats of arms, honourable and generous, if somewhat proud and headstrong. In 1252 the king gave him the lordship of Gascony, and two years later, on his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of the King of Castile, he was created Duke of Aquitaine, Earl of Chester, and Lord of Ireland and of Wales.

When the constitutional struggle began, Edward's unwilling oath to keep the Provisions of Oxford was

loyally observed in his support of the protest of 1259, and he even seems to have incurred his father's anger by siding with De Montfort in his quarrel with the Earl of Gloucester. But in the civil war of 1263 the prince was found in the royalist ranks, and in 1264 he took the town of Gloucester, joined with his father in dispersing the rebellious University of Oxford, and captured Northampton, after a siege in which the expelled Oxford students took an active part with their



QUEEN ELEANOR OF CASTILE.
(*From her Effigy in Westminster Abbey.*)

bows and arrows. His rashness at Lewes was expiated by a long period of captivity; but in 1265 he escaped by tiring out his attendants' horses under pretext of trying their paces, and then galloping off on his own fleet steed. He at once put himself at the head of the royalists, and showed his political genius by his adoption of the principles of the constitutional party, which won him the support of the Earl of Gloucester and the less extreme members of the opposition. His military genius was proved by the brilliant campaign in which he cut off De Montfort's reinforcements, and caught him in the death-trap of Evesham. After the battle

of Evesham a general sentence of forfeiture drove the baronial party to continue their resistance. For six months they held out in Kenilworth Castle, and then accepted the somewhat severe terms of the 'Dictum de Kenilworth.' Edward crushed a final revolt in the Isle of Ely, the Treaty of Shrewsbury restored peace with the Welsh, and in 1267 most of the Provisions of Westminster were re-enacted in the Statute of Marlborough.

In 1268 Edward took the Cross, and in 1270 he joined Louis IX. of France and the French Crusaders in Northern Africa. When Louis died at Tunis, and the French abandoned the expedition, Edward, vowing to keep his oath unto death, sailed for the Holy Land. Reaching Acre in 1271, he won such success against the Saracens that the Sultan sent an assassin to murder him. Wounded by his assailant's poisoned dagger, Edward calmly submitted to have the infected flesh cut from his arm. 'Lady,' said the attendants to his weeping wife, 'it is better that you should shed tears than that all England should lament.'

In August, 1272, Edward left Acre to return to his dying father, but in Sicily he heard of Henry III.'s death and of his own peaceful proclamation as King Edward I. After lingering for nearly two years to settle affairs in Gascony, he landed in England on August 6, 1274, and was crowned at Westminster ten days later.

Edward I., like Henry II., came to the throne to find himself confronted with many difficult problems. But the state of England had altered greatly since the twelfth century, when national freedom was chiefly threatened by the power of the great nobles, men like Robert of Belesme and the rebels of 1173, who forgot

their feudal duties and remembered only their feudal privileges. The winning of the Great Charter marked the change of the great feudatories into constitutional leaders, and made the power of the king, now in its turn a danger to national liberty, theoretically subject to law. The Barons' War showed that in practice the king could only be restrained by ministers responsible to the 'community.' If in 1258 the 'community' was somewhat narrowly interpreted, in 1264 Simon de Montfort gave it a wider meaning, and Edward I. was the pupil of De Montfort in politics as well as in the art of war. In 1265 he had identified himself with the constitutional programme, 'England for the English' and 'Confirmation of the Charters.' In 1274 the leadership of the national party in England passed to England's king.

Immediately on his accession Edward applied himself to the pressing questions of Welsh conquest and home reform. With Wales he had been early connected by his father's grant



BRASS TO SIR JOHN D'ABERNOUN (died 1277) IN STOKE D'ABERNON CHURCH, SHOWING ARMOUR OF THE PERIOD.

on his marriage. The

Welsh national feeling had been carefully fostered by the princes of North Wales, or Gwynedd, who ruled over the mountainous districts of Merioneth and Carnarvon, and the corn-lands of the Isle of Anglesey.

In John's reign Llywelyn ap Jorwerth, Prince of Gwynedd, supported the baronial cause, and was granted substantial privileges by the Great Charter. When, in 1254, the Welsh lordship was conferred on Edward, Llywelyn's grandson and namesake, Llywelyn ap Gruffyd, was ruling the 'Principality'—that is, Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, as opposed to Edward's lands in Cardigan and Carmarthen, and the 'Four Cantreds,' Denbigh and Flint, and to the March lands of Glamorgan, Pembroke, Brecon, and the Border, where the Marcher Earls of Pembroke, Gloucester, and Hereford, and the great house of Mortimer, held sway.

Edward's advisers soon provoked a revolt by attempting to introduce English law and local government into his Welsh dominions. Llywelyn swept down from his mountain fastnesses upon the 'Four Cantreds,' and Edward found great difficulty in dealing with so mobile and persistent a foe. The Barons' War gave Llywelyn a further opportunity, which he was quick to seize by allying himself with De Montfort's party, and the Treaty of Shrewsbury recognized him as prince of all Wales, under the overlordship of England.

But Llywelyn continued to pose as a national leader. He refused the homage due to Edward I.; and when Edward captured Eleanor de Montfort, his betrothed bride, he declared war. In 1277 Edward led an expedition into Wales. The English fleet sailed along the coast, and cut off the Welsh corn-supplies from Anglesey, while the army blockaded Llywelyn in the fastnesses of Snowdon and starved him into submis-

sion. In November Llywelyn accepted the Treaty of Conway, and did homage to Edward, who allowed him to marry Eleanor de Montfort. But the introduction of English customs and English settlers was hateful to the native Welsh. In 1282 the smouldering discontent broke into open rebellion, and Llywelyn and his brother David took up arms. Edward rose to the occasion. Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, excommunicated Llywelyn, and English troops poured into Wales. Llywelyn was again blockaded in Snowdon, and escaped, only to perish in an obscure skirmish, while David was betrayed into the hands of the English, and suffered death as a traitor.

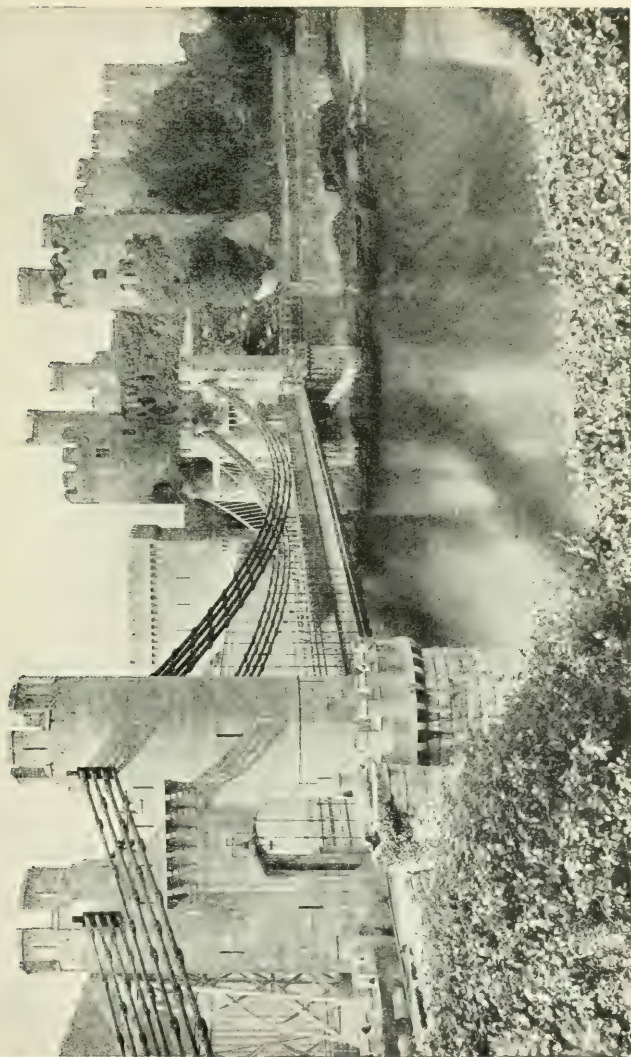
From conquest Edward turned to organization. In 1284 the Statute of Wales, or Rhuddlan, annexed the Principality to the English crown, and made it 'shire-ground.' But Edward avoided his former mistakes. He introduced the machinery of English local government, sheriffs, and shire-moots and juries, but he retained the Welsh laws as far as possible, built up the new system on the lines of the old tribal divisions, and placed the administration largely in Welsh hands. The Marchers retained their special privileges, and Denbigh became a March earldom. Edward built a line of fortresses—the castles, still imposing in decay, of Flint, Carnarvon, Conway, and Harlech—to guard the newly-settled province, and he granted charters to the towns which sprang up under their walls. Thus, military suppression went hand in hand with the encouragement of trade, while at the same time the Welsh Church was reformed and more closely connected with the Church of England.

In 1284 Edward held a 'Round Table tournament' in Wales, and received the crown of King Arthur in

token of sovereignty, and when in the same year his son Edward was born in Carnarvon Castle, the story runs that the king presented him to the Welsh people as their native-born prince, who 'could not speak a word of English.' By the death of his elder brother, Alfonso, Edward became the heir to the throne, and from that time onwards the eldest son of the reigning English monarch has always borne the titles of Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester.

Parallel with the conquest of Wales went on the work of home reform. The power of the feudatories needed curbing; the rising merchant class needed encouragement; the administration of the kingdom needed reorganization; above all, the royal coffers needed filling. The reign of Henry III. had shown that without large revenues the king must be powerless, and that such revenues would henceforth be drawn, not only from lands and feudal dues, but from taxes on personal property, on merchandise, and on exports and imports. Trade and industry, rather than land, were becoming the foundations of the national wealth, and a wise king would develop the trading and industrial interests, while retaining a hold on the older feudal sources of revenue.

This Edward I. thoroughly understood. He, like Henry II., aimed at strengthening the monarchy by maintaining and developing the old national institutions, by binding together central and local government, and by repressing the independent spirit of the feudatories and of the clergy. He would be both supreme feudal lord and national leader, head of the State and of the Church. Himself a born statesman, with a natural love for the legal studies which were fashionable in the thirteenth century, he sought to govern his kingdom in



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CONWAY CASTLE.

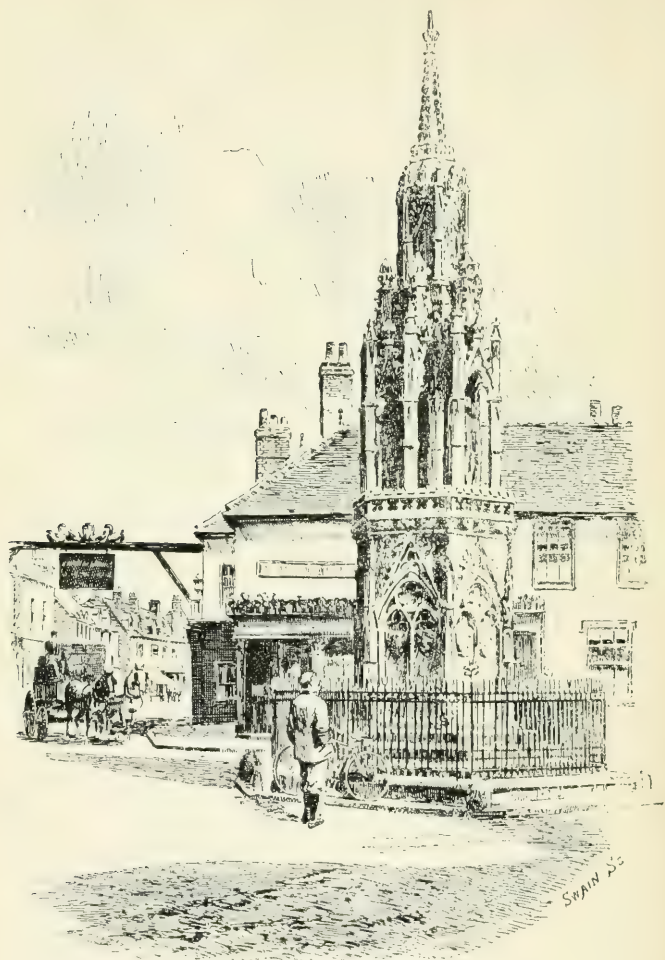
accordance with the best political theories of the time.

The first fifteen years of Edward's reign were years of active reform, carried out with the consent of more or less representative Parliaments. In 1275 the First Statute of Westminster remedied administrative abuses, and in the same year the 'ordinary' aids and the export duties on wool, fleeces, and hides were fixed. In 1279 the clergy were prevented from evading their share of public burdens by the Statute of Mortmain, which forbade the acquisition of land by monasteries or other religious bodies which did not fulfil feudal duties, and, since they neither died nor married, could not incur the feudal obligations of reliefs, marriage, and wardship. The powers of the ecclesiastical courts were also strictly regulated, and the party of political independence in the Church, led by Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, a Franciscan friar, and a pupil of Adam Marsh, was repressed. Trade and industry were protected by the Statute of Merchants, or Acton Burnell; and in 1285 the Statute of Winchester revived and reorganized the ancient militia and police system, the 'fyrd' and 'Assize of Arms,' the 'hue and cry' and 'watch and ward.'

Nor was Edward less active in checking feudal abuses. Early in the reign he instituted an inquiry into the 'franchises,' or judicial rights exercised by the feudatories in their courts. When asked 'by what warrant' (*quo warranto*) he enjoyed these privileges, the Earl of Warenne produced a rusty sword, boasting that his ancestors had come over with the Conqueror, and had won by the sword the rights which he would defend with the sword. But in spite of opposition the king persisted; and in 1290 the Statute 'Quo Warranto'

confirmed all franchises exercised before the accession of Richard I., but forbade the feudatories to usurp new rights without royal license. If, moreover, the Second Statute of Westminster in 1285 allowed the feudal lords to tie up land in their families by creating 'entails,' the Third Statute of Westminster, or 'Quia Emptores,' in 1290, made it easier to transfer or 'alienate' landed property, and to break the feudal bond between landlord and tenant. The central courts also now became more clearly defined, and fell into three divisions: the Court of King's Bench, for suits between the king and his subjects; the Court of Common Pleas, for suits between subject and subject; and the Exchequer, for financial business.

But the period of peaceful internal government was interrupted by troubles at home and abroad. Grave scandals and corruption were discovered amongst the English judges, there were disturbances on the Welsh border, and the affairs of Scotland were daily becoming more critical. In 1286 Alexander III., King of Scots, who had married a sister of Edward I., was killed by an accident, leaving as his successor his three-year-old grand-daughter Margaret, the only child of Eric, King of Norway, whose mother—Alexander's last surviving daughter—had died at her birth. Edward I. entered into negotiations for the marriage of the little 'Maid of Norway' with his eldest son, Edward of Carnarvon; and in 1290, by the Treaty of Brigham, the marriage was arranged, on condition that the union of the crowns of England and Scotland should leave Scotland a free and independent country. But the child-queen died on her voyage from Norway to her Scottish kingdom, and Scotland was plunged into the throes of a disputed succession. Edward was hastening northward, when



ELEANOR CROSS AT WALTHAM.

he was checked by the sudden death of his beloved Queen Eleanor. Her body was borne from Lincoln

Cathedral to its grave in Westminster Abbey, and at each spot where it rested on the journey the king, in token of his grief, raised a beautiful memorial cross. Not till the spring of the following year did Edward once more apply himself to Scottish affairs. In May, 1291, a great meeting was held at Norham, on the Border, in which the English king was recognized as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and appointed arbiter in the succession question. In August Edward, assisted by a hundred and four commissioners, met the claimants of the Scottish throne at Berwick. Of these claimants, only three deserved serious consideration—Robert Bruce, John Balliol, and John Hastings. All three were descended in the female line from David, brother of William the Lion; but whereas Balliol was the grandson of his eldest daughter, Bruce was the son of the second daughter, and Hastings the grandson of the third.* Balliol, then, rested his claim on his descent from the eldest of David's daughters, while Bruce contended that the son of the second daughter was nearer to the original stock than the grandson of the eldest daughter, and Hastings maintained that the kingdom ought to be divided among the three candidates. The question was difficult to decide, and Edward was legally justified in awarding the kingdom to Balliol; but this decision unquestionably strengthened the English power in Scotland, for Balliol was of a submissive nature, while Bruce, the Lord of Annandale, had the support of the Scottish national party.

From early times England had tried to assume some sort of supremacy over Scotland. There had been vague acknowledgments of overlordship in Anglo-Saxon days, and the kings of Scots had done homage to the Anglo-

* See Table III.

Norman kings of England, though, as they held English fiefs, they could assert that their homage was paid for these alone. Henry II. had extorted a more definite submission from William the Lion in the Treaty of Falaise after the revolt of 1173-74, but Richard I. had sold the rights thus obtained for a money-grant, and Scotland, like Wales, had profited by the disorders of the reigns of John and Henry III. Still, the English had never ceased to maintain their claims, and it was not unnatural that Edward I. should see in Scotland's weakness England's opportunity.

Balliol was crowned in November, 1292, and did homage to Edward, acknowledging him as his feudal superior. Before the year was out the new king quarrelled with his overlord, for Edward insisted on hearing appeals from the Scottish courts in England, and Balliol, after vain remonstrances, was forced to submit. But a new cloud now darkened the English horizon. A sea-fight between the Norman sailors and the seamen of England and Gascony gave the French king, Philip IV., a pretext for summoning Edward, as Duke of Aquitaine, before his court, to answer for the conduct of his subjects. Edward sent his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, to negotiate, but Philip, after inducing Edmund to place the Gascon fortresses in his hands, threw off the mask, and declared the Duchy of Aquitaine forfeited. War was inevitable, and Edward set himself to procure troops and money. He summoned his feudal vassals from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, as well as from England, and formed alliances with the Emperor and the King of Castile. To obtain the supplies necessary for carrying on the campaign he taxed the wool of the merchants, seized the treasures hoarded in the churches, and finally

demanded from the clergy a grant of half their goods, rating them so fiercely when they hesitated, that the Dean of St. Paul's dropped dead with fright.

In the autumn Parliament of 1294 further grants were demanded; but, grievous as was this taxation, it brought the king into closer relations with the tax-paying classes, and helped to build up a national representative tax-granting central Assembly. When in 1295 Edward's position was complicated by a Welsh rebellion and by the formation of an alliance between Scotland and France, he, like Simon de Montfort in 1264, threw himself on the support of the English people, and summoned the famous 'Model Parliament' to Westminster. To this Parliament came not only the great feudatories and prelates, but two knights from each English shire, two citizens from each city, two burgesses from each borough, and representatives of the cathedral and parish clergy. In the form of summons sent to the prelates the king quoted the maxim of Roman law, 'That which touches all should be approved by all,' and called on his subjects to meet common dangers by common action. This sense of common interests, this desire for a national unity which should include all classes in harmonious co-operation for the general good, was the keynote of Edward's policy, and excuses much that seems harsh and arbitrary in his conduct. Barons and shire-knights, merchants and townsmen, prelates, monks, and parish priests, all were to share the national burdens, as all enjoyed the national benefits of good government and security. The new reforms, moreover, were carried out in the spirit of the older institutions. The knights of the shire and the burgesses were summoned by a common writ addressed to the sheriff,

thus using the old machinery of the shire-court for new purposes, and associating in the work of central government the country gentry and the merchant class, who had been accustomed to work together in local affairs. The lower clergy also, who, through their landed property and the wool-trade of the Cistercian and Gilbertine monks, were connected both with the gentry and the merchants, and who were already represented in the ecclesiastical Councils or Convocations, were now called on to form part of the national Council.

Thus Edward I. interpreted the 'community of the realm' even more liberally than Simon de Montfort, and rested his Parliament on a broader basis than the Assembly of 1265. He showed this same reliance on the people in his organization of a coastguard to protect the shores of England, to be kept up by the maritime counties.

The rising in Scotland was put down without much difficulty. The Scots were defeated at Dunbar, Balliol was deposed, and Edward carried off the famous 'Stone of Destiny,' on which the Scottish kings were crowned, and declared the kingdom forfeited.

Meanwhile the Gascon expedition dragged wearily on, and its leader, the king's brother Edmund, died on the Continent in 1296. In that same year the king's pressing need of money and men brought the national discontent to a head. Pope Boniface VIII., in the Bull 'Clericis Laicos,' had forbidden ecclesiastics to pay taxes to secular authorities without Papal license. When Edward demanded a tenth from the clergy, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Winchilsey, refused the grant as contrary to the Papal decree, and threatened excommunication against those who should enforce the

demand. Edward retorted by outlawing the clergy and seizing their goods. But opposition came also from the great feudatories. The Constable, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and the Marshal, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, a descendant of William the Marshal, refused to serve in Gascony while Edward led an expedition to Flanders. They declared that their duty was to follow the king, but not to serve abroad save under his personal command. A fierce quarrel ensued. 'By God, Sir Earl,' said Edward to Roger Bigod, 'you shall either go or hang!' 'By the same oath, Oh king,' replied Bigod, 'I will neither go nor hang!' It was hard for Edward to see such indifference to the fate of Gascony, the great wine-growing province, the last remnant of the Angevin heritage, and he resorted to despotic measures. He seized all the wool of the kingdom and laid a heavy tax on it, and he called out the whole military force of the country for the Gascon war. Then, appealing once more to national feeling, he reconciled himself with the clergy, who now consented to make a grant, confided his son to Archbishop Winchilsey, and issued a manifesto to the people, in which he reminded them that the taxes of which they complained had been employed for the defence of the realm, not for personal ends. The magnates now drew up a list of grievances and demanded confirmation of the Charters, and when, in August, 1297, Edward sailed for Flanders, Bohun and Bigod took occasion of his absence to agitate for redress of grievances. In November, in a Parliament of prelates, magnates, and knights, the prince Edward granted confirmation of the Charters, and agreed to a series of new articles whereby the king bound himself not to repeat his recent exactions, and to take no more

excessive taxes or 'maletoltes' (*evil tolls*) on wool, fleeces, and hides, without the common consent.

The king ratified the 'Confirmation of the Charters' from Flanders, and received supplies in return; the discontent in England was appeased, and the quarrel with France bade fair to be arranged by the Pope's mediation. But Edward I. was destined to know few peaceful days. Whilst he was still in Flanders a serious revolt broke out in Scotland, where the oppressive conduct of the new English governors had roused a national resistance, under the patriot leader, Sir William Wallace. In September, 1297, Wallace defeated the forces of the Earl of Warenne, Edward's viceroy, at Cambuskenneth Bridge, and harried the North of England. Edward returned from the Continent, and led a great army into Scotland. On July 22, 1298, he won the battle of Falkirk by the skilful use of a force of archers armed with the powerful long bow, which was drawn to the ear instead of only to the breast, like the short bow, and had probably been adopted by the English from the Welsh. Wallace drew up his pikemen in four circular masses, backed by cavalry, flanked by archers, and protected in front by a morass. The English horsemen, hampered by the marshy ground, threw themselves vainly on the serried ranks, till Edward bade his archers pour their deadly shower of arrows into the enemy's lines, following up the attack by a fierce cavalry charge. The Scottish troops broke and fled, and the kingdom was once more at Edward's feet. Peace was now also concluded with France, and Edward married the French king's sister and betrothed his eldest son to Philip IV.'s daughter.

The next few years were spent in wrangling with the feudatories over forest reforms and the observance of

the Charters; in a dispute with the Pope, who claimed Scotland as a fief of the Holy See; and in a quarrel with Archbishop Winchilsey, who supported the Papal policy. So bitterly did Edward feel the curtailment of his powers by his subjects that in 1305 he obtained from Pope Clement V., the successor of Boniface VIII., a Bull absolving him from his oath to observe the Charters. He used it only to evade the forest articles, which were peculiarly irksome to him, but it is sad that even in one instance he should have departed from his own favourite motto, 'Keep troth' (*Pactum serva*).

But Scotland, restless under the English yoke, continued to harass her conqueror. In 1303 Edward had to relieve Stirling Castle, which the patriots had seized, and though in 1304 Wallace was captured and executed as a traitor, a new leader arose in Robert Bruce, the grandson of the former claimant of the crown. Edward vainly tried to conciliate the Scottish people by a wise and statesmanlike 'Ordinance for the Government of Scotland.' The national spirit was too strong to be repressed. Early in 1306 Robert Bruce quarrelled with and murdered John Comyn, a possible candidate for the crown and a partisan of the English. Having thus offended the King of England, he openly joined the national party, made a bold bid for the throne, and was crowned at Scone.

For the last time Edward took the field. Bruce was defeated at Methven; but with the spring of 1307 the patriot forces reappeared in arms, and defeated the English at Loudon Hill. Edward marched northwards from Carlisle. But he was old and infirm, and the effort was too much for his failing strength. On July 7, 1307, he died at Burgh-on-Sands, bidding his

son carry his bones with the army till Scotland should be subdued, and bequeathing his heart to the Holy Land, where he had hoped to die fighting for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. His dying injunctions were disregarded. His body was taken back to London and laid to rest in Westminster Abbey in Henry III.'s Chapel in a simple tomb, on which were engraved the words :

EDWARDUS PRIMUS SCOTORUM MALLEUS HIC EST. 1308.
PACTUM SERVA. /

[Here lies Edward the First, the Hammer of the Scots. 1308.
Keep troth.]

Edward I. went down to the grave in sadness and disappointment, leaving uncompleted his two cherished projects, the conquest of Scotland and the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Yet he lives in English memory, with Alfred and William the Conqueror and Henry II., as 'one of the conscious creators of England's greatness.'* The first King of England since the Conquest who bore an English name, he went far to complete that work of national unification which Alfred had begun four hundred years earlier. 'The instruments of kingly rule,' wrote King Alfred, 'are men of prayer, men of war, and men of work.' This was the mediæval conception of a perfect State: the king over all, ruling the people for their good; the working class cultivating the land and producing the necessities of life; the warrior class defending the land and protecting the labourers; the churchmen sanctifying and ennobling material toil and struggle by spiritual hopes and ideals. The England of Edward I. was very different from the England of King Alfred, yet the elements which made for national well-being were the same in both, the king, the Church, the baronage, and the people

* Stubbs, 'Benedict of Peterborough,' II., xxxiii.

working together for the common good. It was

well for the English people that they had such kings as Alfred, William the Conqueror, Henry II., and Edward I. to defend and govern them; such churchmen as Dunstan, Anselm, Becket, and Grosseteste to teach and inspire them; such patriot-nobles as Godwine, William the Marshal, and

Simon de Montfort to lead and stimulate them. It was well for them, too, that kings, churchmen, and baronial leaders alike preserved for them their ancient laws and liberties, their local self-government, their free institutions. For thus the tribal England of Alfred gave place to the feudal England of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and this again developed into the industrial England of later days, without violence or the rude shocks of revolution,



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GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I.—OVERSE.



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GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I.—REVERSE.

and the new order retained within itself all that was best and strongest in the old order from which it had sprung. Thus, for all Englishmen and Englishwomen the Present is rooted in the Past, and the Past is no less living than the Future.*

AN ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD I.

All that be of hertè true,
 A stoundè (*while*) herkneth to my song,
 Of duel (*grief*) that death hath diht (*wrought*) us new,
 That maketh me syke (*sigh*) and sorrow among ;
 Of a knight that was so strong,
 Of whom God hath done His will :
 Methinketh that death hath done us wrong,
 That he so soon shall liggè (*lie*) still.

All England oughtè for to know
 Of whom that song is that I sing ;—
 Of Edward king that lieth so low,
 Through all this world his name may spring.
 Truest man of allè thing,
 And in werrè (*war*) war (*wary*) and wise,
 For him we ought our honden (*hands*) wring
 Of Christendom he bare the prize.

* * * * *

Though my tongue were made of steel
 And my heart y-wrought of brass,
 The goodness might I never tell
 That with King Edward was :
 King, as thou art cleped (*called*) conqueror,
 In each battle thou hadst prize ;
 God bring thy soul to the honour
 That ever was and ever is,
 That lasteth aye withouten end !
 Pray we God and our Lady,
 To that bliss Jesus us send. Amen.

* Stubbs, 'Hoveden,' IV., lxxxii.

SUMMARY

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD, 871-1307.

KING ALFRED THE GREAT, 871-889 or 900* (901 ?).

KING ALFRED worked for—

- (1) THE RESTORATION OF PEACE,
- (2) THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE.

Alfred restored peace by his STRUGGLE WITH THE DANES, which may be divided into THREE PERIODS:

Period I., 871-878.

- (1) 871: THE YEAR OF BATTLES.—Danish attack on Thames Valley. English victories of *Englefield*, *Ashdown*, and *Basing*. Danish victories of *Merton* and *Wilton*.
- (2) 871-876: THE MAKING OF DANISH MERCIA AND DANISH NORTH-UMBRIA.
 874. Danish conquest of *Mercia*.
 876. Occupation of *Deira* by Halfdene's host.
- (3) 875-878: THE WEST-SAXON CRISIS.
 875. Invasion of *Wessex* by Danes under *Guthrum*.
 876. Peace of *Wareham*. Fresh Danish revolt.
 877. Blockade of *Exeter* by Alfred.
 878. Danish invasion of *Wessex* from the West. Building of Alfred's fort at *Athelney*. Defeat of *Ubba* in Devonshire. Battle of *Æthandun*. *Peace of Wedmore or Chippenham*.

Period II., 885-886.

885. Wicking siege of *Rochester*.
886. Revolt of *Guthrum*. Cession of London to Alfred.

Period III., 893-897.

Attack of *Hæsten* on England. Rising of the Danelaw. Danes defeated at *Buttington*, driven from *Chester*, blockaded on the *Lee*, and dispersed.

Alfred preserved peace by giving *Wessex* internal unity of administration in (1) the *military* system, (2) the system of *justice*, (3) the system of *education*.

* There has been much discussion as to the precise date of Alfred's death. The most conclusive evidence is, perhaps, in favour of the year 900. (Cf. Plummer and Sir J. Ramsay ('Foundations of England').

EDWARD THE ELDER, 899 or 900 (901 ?)— 924 or 925.

Alfred's children, EDWARD THE ELDER and ETHELFLEAD, LADY OF THE MERCIANS, expanded and consolidated the West-Saxon kingdom by the reconquest of the Danelaw and the incorporation of Danish Mercia.

(1) The Reconquest of the Danelaw.

Edward, Alfred's eldest son, and his warrior sister Ethelflæd, were the heirs of their father's policy on its military side; but whereas he had fought for the existence of Wessex, they fought for its expansion.

Edward won Eastern and Central England by pushing slowly forward, clearing the Danes before him or receiving their submission, and securing his lines of advance by forts or *burhs*, huge mounds of earth protected by an outer ditch and rampart, and probably crowned with a stockade.

EDWARD—

- (1) Guarded the Dee by fortifying CHESTER (907);
- (2) Secured the line of Thames by LONDON and OXFORD;
- (3) Attacked GUTHRUM'S KINGDOM, and secured a line from the Lea to the sea by forts at HERTFORD, WITHAM, and MALDON, in Essex (912-913);
- (4) Attacked DANISH MERCIA, secured the Vale of Ouse by *burhs* at BUCKINGHAM, BEDFORD, and HUNTINGDON, and fortified TOWCESTER on the Watling Street and WIGMORE on the Welsh border (918-921).

Meanwhile (912-915) ETHELFLEAD secured by a line of *burhs* the Western and Northern frontiers of English Mercia, the chief waterways, and the great Roman roads which gave access to the heart of England.

THE WESTERN and NORTHERN FRONTIERS: by SCARGATE, EDDISBURY, CHERBURY, and WARBURY.

WATLING STREET, the SEVERN, and UPPER TRENT: by TAMWORTH, BRIDGENORTH and STAFFORD.

THE FOSSE WAY and the AVON: by WARWICK.

THE MERSEY: by RUNCORN.

The Danes of the FIVE BOROUGHs, Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham, and Lincoln, could no longer look for help to Wales, or to their kinsmen in Ireland, and one by one they submitted—Derby and Leicester to Ethelflæd; Stamford, Nottingham, and Lincoln to Edward.

In 924, after the fortification of the North-West by *burhs* at THELWALL, MANCHESTER, and BAKEWELL, the Danes of Northumbria, the English of Bernicia, and the Britons of Strathclyde, with the 'King of Scots and all Scots folk,' chose Edward 'to father and lord'

The WELSH CHIEFS also submitted, and when Edward died he was immediate king of all England south of Humber and overlord of the whole island.

(2) The Incorporation of English Mercia.

With expansion went consolidation. Alfred had married his daughter Ethelflæd to ETHELRED, *ealdorman* or provincial ruler of English Mercia; but he had left much independence to the Mercians. After Etheired's death in 912, although Edward joined London and Oxford, which had been in Mercia, to Wessex, he left the government of the Mercian province to his sister Ethelflæd, Ethelred's widow; but when, just after the taking of Leicester, Ethelflæd died, Edward placed her only daughter in a nunnery, and took the administration of Mercia into his own hands. Hence, as direct ruler of the Anglian Mercians and the Saxons of Wessex, he styled himself 'King of the Anglo-Saxons' (*Angul-Saxonum rex*).

SONS OF EDWARD THE ELDER.

Edward the Elder was succeeded in turn by his three sons ÆTHELSTAN, EDMUND, and EDRED.

ÆTHELSTAN THE GLORIOUS, 924 or 925-940.

ÆTHELSTAN—

- (1) Subdued Danish Northumbria;
- (2) Secured his northern boundary by the submission of the King of Scots and of Bernicia;
- (3) Secured and extended his western boundary by the submission of the North Welsh and West Welsh.

In 937 the Northumbrian Danes and their allies were defeated in the Battle of BRUNANBURH, which is celebrated in the Chronicle by a fine war-song; but Æthelstan was forced to give NORTHUMBRIA an under-king.

In his FOREIGN POLICY Æthelstan aimed at alliance with Continental rulers. His sisters married CHARLES THE SIMPLE, King of the West Franks or French; HUGH THE GREAT, Duke of the French; and OTTO THE GREAT, King of the East Franks or Germans, who was afterwards Emperor.

EDMUND THE MAGNIFICENT, 940-946.

The reign of EDMUND is marked by a fresh revolt of Danish Northumbria and the Five Boroughs, supported by the Irish Danes. But in 945 Edmund won back the Five Boroughs and subdued Northumbria. He then harried STRATHCLYDE, and granted it to Malcolm, King of Scots, on condition that he would be 'his fellow-worker by sea and land.'

In 946 Edmund was stabbed to death by a robber whom he had outlawed.

EDRED THE EXCELLENT, 946-955.

EDRED finally subdued the Northumbrian Danes, and reduced the under-kingdom of Danish Northumbria to an earldom. He was crowned by both the Archbishops, and as ruler of 'the fourfold realm' of Anglo-Saxons, Northumbrians, Danes of Mid-Britain, and Welsh, he styled himself 'King and Cæsar of the whole of Britain.'

SONS OF EDMUND.

The final REDUCTION OF THE DANELAW restored peace to England, but national unification was retarded by the growing power and independence of the GREAT EALDORMEN.

Henceforth the STRUGGLE BETWEEN DANES AND ENGLISH gives place to a STRUGGLE BETWEEN KING AND NOBLES.

EDRED was succeeded by EDWY and EDGAR, the sons of his brother EDMUND.

EDWY THE FAIR, 955-959.

EDWY'S REIGN was short and troubled. In 956 he banished DUNSTAN. In 957 MERCA and the DANELAW revolted, and chose EDGAR as king. In 959 EDWY died, and EDGAR became sole king.

EDGAR THE PEACEFUL, 959-975.

EDGAR unified England and strengthened the central power by—

- (1) Assuming an IMPERIAL POSITION as overlord of the Welsh kings;
- (2) Relying on ECCLESIASTICS, notably DUNSTAN, rather than on the nobles, for help in the work of government;
- (3) Encouraging the PEOPLE to help to govern themselves by a system of SURETYSHIP and LOCAL COURTS.

The king supported the MOVEMENT FOR ECCLESIASTICAL REFORM, which at this time resulted in a struggle between the SECULAR or non-monastic clergy and the monastic or REGULAR clergy, who lived by a fixed 'rule' (*regula*). The MONASTIC PARTY was led by Archbishop Odo, by Oswald, Bishop of Worcester (afterwards Archbishop of York), and by Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester. The reformed Benedictine or 'CLUNIAC' rule was introduced into England, new monasteries were founded, and the old monasteries and cathedral foundations were reorganized.

EDWARD THE MARTYR, 975-978.

The brief reign of EDWARD, Edgar's eldest son, was marked by a struggle between the parties of centralization and decentralization. In 978 the party of decentralization triumphed, when Edward was murdered at Corfe, in Dorsetshire. In the next reign his body was moved to Shaftesbury, and he was revered as a martyr.

ETHELRED THE UNREADY, 978-1016.

ETHELRED II., the stepbrother of Edward the Martyr, 'held his kingdom with much toil and trouble the while that his life lasted.'

Whilst the country was torn by the jealousies of rival factions, the WICKINGS renewed their plunder-raids. In 980 they sailed up *Southampton Water*, and in 981 they burnt *London*; they harried the coasts of *Wessex* and *Kent*, and in 988 they defeated the *Devonshire fyrd*, while three years later the East-Saxon ealdorman *Brihtnoth* fell in a gallant fight at *Maldon* in Essex.

External danger only showed more clearly the internal weakness of the English kingdom. The people looked in vain to their rulers for

guidance. 'All these woes,' says the Chronicler, 'came upon us through lack of rede,' or counsel (*unræd*). Ethelred himself was called the Unready (*unrædig*), or Redeless. But the difficulties which beset Ethelred were largely due to a great change which was taking place in the social order.

ENGLISH SOCIETY had been a society of independent landowners. It was rapidly becoming a society of great landlords and dependent tenants. In old days, though there had been differences of wealth and rank, every freeman had looked after his own interests and the interests of his family, lived on his own land, and fought for his country when need arose in the *fyrð*, or national army. But when the DANISH INVASIONS came, the poorer freemen could not afford to bring to the field the horses and armour without which it was hopeless to cope with the well-equipped enemy, and the burden of the fighting fell more and more upon the richer men, the *thegns* and *ealdormen*, to whose protection the cultivators of the soil *commended* themselves, driven by fear of the Danes, and by the poverty which followed their raids. In return for security and a quiet life they gave up much of their personal liberty, becoming the dependents of their new lords, and resigning their little estates, to receive them back to hold as *tenants* on condition of *service*; for as yet coined money was scarce in England, and rents and dues were chiefly paid in labour. The movement was further hastened by the LEGISLATION OF ATHELSTAN AND EDGAR, requiring all men to have *lords* or *sureties*, who would answer for their keeping the law.

Thus were formed an *upper military class* of rich independent landlords and a *lower agricultural class* of poor dependent tenants. But with the loss of independence went the loss of self-reliance and of a sense of public duty. The tillers of the soil became less and less warlike, and though they still turned out to fight in the *fyrð* when danger threatened their own district, they relied mainly on their lords, who took the field with their personal followers around them. Hence, if the lords were to prove faint-hearted or treacherous, England would be in sorry case. This is just what happened. Individual leaders were brave enough, but the thegns and ealdormen as a whole would not act together. The people mistrusted them, and local selfishness was so strong that one shire would not help another. ETHELRED did what he could to meet the dangers which threatened England both from within and from without. HE CHECKED THE POWER OF THE GREAT EALDORMEN by not filling up the ealdormanries as they fell vacant, or by giving them to his own favourites. HE BOUGHT OFF THE DANES by giving them tribute, the DANEGELD, or 'Dane money,' which he raised from his people. HE MADE A TREATY with the Norwegian part of the invading host against the Danes proper. HE PERSUADED THE DUKE OF NORMANDY to refuse to let the Wicking boats take refuge in his harbours across the Channel, and later on he made a close ALLIANCE WITH NORMANDY by marrying EMMA, the Duke's sister. He tried, moreover, to improve the English NAVY, and made the landmen fit out ships at their own expense, and he even took some Danish chiefs and sailors into his pay.

But the NEW EALDORMEN quarrelled amongst themselves, or proved treacherous and untrustworthy. The DANEGELD was unpopular, and weighed heavily on the people. The NEW SHIPS were of no use without good commanders, and the DANISH MERCENARIES were faithless.

To crown all, on ST. BRICE'S DAY (November 11), 1002, Ethelred committed a crime which was also a great blunder. He ordered all the Danes in England to be put to death, and this MASSACRE naturally embittered the Danish armies, and made them determine really to conquer the country.

In 1003 SWEYN, King of Denmark, attacked the Southern coast in person; in 1004 the Eastern coast was harried; in 1006 the Danes settled in the Isle of Wight, whence they ravaged the mainland. Soon every shire in Wessex was marked with the signs of their plundering and burning. In 1012 ÆLFHEAH, Archbishop of Canterbury, was martyred by the Danes. In 1013 Northern England and Wessex submitted to SWEYN, and in 1014 ÆTHELRED fled to Normandy. But in a few months SWEYN DIED, and the Witan RECALLED ÆTHELRED.

But the old spirit of disunion revived, and in 1015 all Wessex 'bowed' to Cnut, the son of Sweyn, and gave him hostages. The North also submitted, and when, on April 23, 1016, Ethelred ended his days, the Witan who were in London and the citizens chose his son EDMUND as king, but the greater part of England declared for Cnut.

EDMUND IRONSIDE, April to November, 1016.

EDMUND, called 'Ironsides' for his valour, 'strenuously defended his kingdom while his time lasted.' In less than a year he fought FIVE BATTLES with Cnut and his Danish and English followers—at *Penselwood* and *Sherstone* in the West, at *Brentford*, near London, at *Otford*, in Kent, and at *Assandun* (Ashington), in Essex, where the English were defeated owing to the treachery of the ealdorman EADRIC STREONA.

Edmund made with Cnut the TREATY OF OLNEY, whereby the kingdom was divided, Edmund taking WESSEX, and Cnut MERCA, with LONDON and the NORTH. But on November 30, 1016, King Edmund died.

CNUT, 1016-1035.

Cnut was now elected and crowned king of all England. He banished the young sons of Edmund Ironside, and had the traitor Eadric Streona beheaded; but no sooner was his throne securely established than he became the model of a Christian king. IN HIS HOME POLICY he thoroughly identified himself with the West-Saxon tradition of ALLIANCE WITH CHURCH AND PEOPLE, and adopted many of Ethelred's new expedients for strengthening the monarchy and checking the power of the ealdormen. WINCHESTER was his capital. He re-issued the LAWS OF EDGAR. He decreed that the days of the English saints, DUNSTAN and EDWARD THE MARTYR, should be observed. He paid special honour to St. EDMUND and St. ÆLFHEAH, the victims of the heathen Wickings. He married the Norman ÆLGIFU-EMMA, Ethelred's widow. He levied the DANEGELD for the maintenance of royal troops, the *house-carls*. He kept up the old system of SURETYSHIP and LOCAL COURTS. He replaced the ealdormanries by EARLDOMS under his own nominees.

But as KING OF DENMARK his FOREIGN POLICY was inevitably wider than that of his predecessors. He might well dream of forming an

ANGLO-SCANDINAVIAN EMPIRE, stretching from the Irish Sea to the Baltic, and governed from Winchester. Thus he won the kingdom of NORWAY, and aimed at winning SWEDEN. He made a COMMERCIAL TREATY also with the Emperor and the King of Burgundy, and entered into relations with ROME.

In 1031 the KING OF SCOTS did homage to CNUT, and the King of Denmark, Norway, and England became overlord of Great Britain.

HAROLD HAREFOOT, 1035-1040.

After Cnut's death his son HAROLD ruled over England *North of Thames*, while GODWINE and ÆLGIFU-EMMA held the *South* for HARTHACNUT, Harold's stepbrother.

In 1036 ALFRED, son of Ethelred the Unready, was murdered, and suspicion fell on Godwine. The Witan now chose HAROLD to be full king, and banished ÆLGIFU-EMMA.

In 1040 Harold died, and HARTHACNUT was elected King of England.

HARTHACNUT, 1040-1042.

HARTHACNUT, son of Cnut and Ælfifu-Emma, reigned for two inglorious years, marked only by the TRIAL OF GODWINE for Alfred's murder, the HARRYING OF WORCESTERSHIRE as a punishment for resistance to a heavy Danegeld, and the RETURN OF THE ÆTHELING EDWARD.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042-1066.

The reign of Edward the Confessor has been called 'the first stage of the Norman Conquest,' because Edward closely connected ENGLAND, the country of his birth, with NORMANDY, the land of his adoption.

In the early years of the tenth century a host of NORTHMEN had won for themselves a permanent home across the Channel. In 912 Charles the Simple, King of the West Franks, granted to the Wicking ROLLO the fertile province which we still call Normandy, the land of the Northmen. The 'pirate dukes' of Normandy, Rollo's successors, were early drawn into CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND. ÆTHELRED THE UNREADY married the Norman EMMA, sister of the reigning duke, RICHARD THE GOOD, and it was at the Court of ROUEN that his sons ALFRED and EDWARD found a refuge during the rule of the Danish dynasty in England. ROBERT THE MAGNIFICENT, Richard's son, attempted an invasion of England on behalf of the 'athelings,' but he afterwards made peace with Cnut, and gave him the hand of his aunt Emma.

When Edward the Confessor came to the English throne the Duke of Normandy was Robert's son WILLIAM.

EDWARD'S REIGN falls into THREE PERIODS—

(1) 1042-1051: NINE YEARS when the ENGLISH PARTY under GODWINE was in the ascendant.

(2) 1051-1053: TWO YEARS when the NORMAN PARTY was in the ascendant, and GODWINE was in exile.

(3) 1053-1066: THIRTEEN YEARS OF ENGLISH ASCENDANCY. Godwine returned from exile in 1052, to die the next year, but his FAMILY POLICY was carried on by his sons, HAROLD, Earl of Wessex and Hereford, TOSTIG, Earl of Northumbria, GYRTH, Earl of East-Anglia, and LEOFWINE, Earl of Essex and the neighbouring counties.

In 1064 and 1065 Harold distinguished himself as a military leader in war with the WELSH.

In 1065 the House of LEOFRIC regained power when EDWIN succeeded his father ÆLFGAR as Earl of Mercia, and his brother MORKERE became Earl of Northumbria on Tostig's banishment.

On January 5, 1066, KING EDWARD died, and was buried in his own foundation of WESTMINSTER ABBEY. He was early accounted a saint and a miracle-worker, and about the middle of the twelfth century he was canonized as a 'confessor,' or saint of secondary rank.

HAROLD, January to October, 1066.

HAROLD, son of Godwine, was elected by the Witan who were in London, and consecrated by Archbishop Ealdred of York. But 'he had little stillness the while that he ruled the kingdom.'

His TITLE was weak. He was not of royal blood. His election had been hurried, and he had rivals in EDGAR ÆTHELING, grandson of Edmund Ironside, and in WILLIAM OF NORMANDY, whose claim he had sworn to support.

He had alienated the Pope, and his banished brother, TOSTIG, was eager for revenge on the Northumbrians.

Harold married the sister of Edwin and Morkere, and at Easter he was accepted as king of all England. He defeated the forces of TOSTIG and HAROLD HARDRADA at STAMFORD BRIDGE on September 25, only to be recalled to the South to meet the NORMAN DUKE, and to fall on October 14 in the Battle of HASTINGS, or SENLAC.

CONDITION OF ENGLAND, 871-1066.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND in the Anglo-Saxon period was carried on by the KING and the 'WITAN,' or 'wise men,' lay and ecclesiastical, ealdormen or earls, thegns and prelates.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT was conducted by means of the SHIRE-COURTS under the sheriffs, ealdormen, and bishops, and the HUNDRED-COURTS. At these courts the freemen had to attend to declare the ancient customs of the country, and to say what were the proper punishments for special offences. The CUSTOMARY LAW was written down from time to time, with additions and amendments. The METHODS OF TRIAL were COMPURGATION, or purging by oath, and ORDEAL.

THE POLICE SYSTEM was based on SURETYSHIP, or the responsibility of lords for their dependents, or of the members of a group of neighbours for each other, while all men had to take an OATH to keep the peace, and all were bound to join in the 'HUE AND CRY' after offenders.

Similarly, the MILITARY SYSTEM rested chiefly on the freemen of the country, who had to appear in the 'FYRD,' or national army; but even in Alfred's day there had been a tendency to lay special military service

on the richer men, or 'THEGNS,' and to make the 'fyrd' smaller and more efficient.

The 'FREE CEORLS,' or freemen of early English society, had by the eleventh century, to a great extent, sunk into a state of semi-serfdom, or 'VILLENAGE.' Unable to pay the heavy Danegeld, and in constant dread of Danish plunder-raids, they put themselves under the protection of the wealthier men, who would do their military service for them, pay their taxes, and defend them, receiving in return their 'homage' and service and the lordship over their land. Thus the foundations of the FEUDAL SYSTEM were laid in England.

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

KINGS OF FRANCE :

Philip I., 1060.

Louis VI., 1108.

Louis VII., 1137.

FEUDALISM.

THE history of the Anglo-Norman kings, William I., William II., Henry I., and Stephen, centres in the STRUGGLE FOR SUPREME POWER BETWEEN THE KING AND THE GREAT NOBLES. This struggle was fiercer than the earlier conflict between the Anglo-Saxon kings and the great ealdormen or earls, because the Norman Conquest had put a very strong line of kings on the English throne, and had also replaced the English earls by Norman nobles, who held land on both sides of the Channel, and brought to England Continental ideas of local independence. IN FRANCE the great hereditary landholders ruled like petty monarchs. They granted out land to be held in return for military service, and could call an army into the field against the king himself. They had their own castles, garrisoned by their own men; they made their own laws, judged their tenants in their own courts, raised their own taxes, and coined their own money. The public duties of defending the country, keeping order and executing justice, instead of being performed by a State army and State-paid policemen and judges, had become the private hereditary rights of the landed aristocracy.

An order of society in which all public duties, powers, and privileges are bound up with landholding is what is generally known as 'FEUDALISM' (Latin : *feudum*, a *fief* or *hereditary holding*). In theory, all land belonged to the king, who granted out *fiefs* to be held by his *tenants* (Latin : *tenere*, to hold) in return for service. The king's tenants in turn became landlords by granting out fiefs to tenants in return for service, and thus chains of landlords and tenants were formed, all ultimately depending on the king. Those who held *immediately* of a lord were called his *tenants-in-chief*; those who held *mediately*, through another lord, were his *mesne tenants*.

The SERVICE done in return for grants of land was of different kinds :

(1) MILITARY SERVICE. When the king went to war he called out the *feudal levy*. The men who held of him by KNIGHT-SERVICE (*military*

tenure) were bound to come into the field fully equipped, with the number of knights or mounted men they had engaged to provide, and to serve at their own cost, and each great lord had similarly a little feudal army of his own.

(2) NON-MILITARY SERVICE (*socage tenure*), whether JUDICIAL SERVICE in the lord's courts, or AGRICULTURAL SERVICE on his estates.

(3) RELIGIOUS SERVICE (*tenure by 'frankalmoign,' or 'free alms'*). Masses or prayers said for the souls of the lord or his kinsmen.

The feudal lords had many profitable RIGHTS and PRIVILEGES, especially in relation to their military tenants. If one of these tenants were convicted of treason or felony, his land was *forfeited* to his lord. If he died without heirs, his land *escheated* to his lord. His heir had to pay a *relief*, or sum of money, to the lord on entering into his heritage. If the heir were a minor, the lord had the *wardship*, or guardianship, of his person and lands until he came of age, and the right of giving him in *marriage*. Moreover, the lord might levy an *aid* in money from his tenants in the three cases of *the knighting of his eldest son, the marriage of his eldest daughter, and his own ransom from captivity*, and he enjoyed an indefinite right of taking similar *aids* when he needed them.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM had its good side, for the *man* was bound by an oath of *homage* to be true and faithful to his *lord*, while the lord was bound in return to protect and help his man. But FEUDALISM tended to put all the powers of government into the hands of the *greater land-lords*, and to turn them into local tyrants, while the *king* became, as in France, a mere shadow.

THE ANGLO-NORMAN sovereigns were strong enough to prevent the nobles in England from reducing the king to a nonentity; but they were not strong enough to do this single-handed. Each king in turn came to the throne with a *weak title*. Each had to face *rivals*, both in the kingdom and in the duchy. Hence, each in turn threw himself on the support of the *English people* and of the *Church*, and posed as the heir of the Anglo-Saxon traditions. Thus, the MAIN POINTS OF INTEREST IN THE ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD are the same as before the Conquest: the SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE, the INTERNAL ORGANIZATION, and the CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION OF THE ISLAND KINGDOM, the RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE, and the STRUGGLE BETWEEN KING AND NOBLES. But, owing to the fact of the Norman Conquest, Norman and English history are henceforth closely interwoven, and the FOREIGN POLICY of England is widened and complicated.

WILLIAM I., THE CONQUEROR, 1066-1087.

Married Matilda of Flanders.

The reign of William I. was occupied with—

- (1) THE COMPLETION OF THE CONQUEST.
- (2) THE SETTLEMENT OF THE KINGDOM.
- (3) THE SETTLEMENT OF THE DUCHY.

(1) 1066-1072: THE COMPLETION OF THE CONQUEST meant six years of campaigns, confiscations, and castle-building:

1066. October 14 to Christmas Day. CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH.
Battle of *Hastings*. Election of *Edgar Ætheling*. Sub-

- mission of *Kent* and *Hampshire*. Submission of the English leaders at *Berkhamstead*. Coronation of *King William* at Westminster.
1067. Rising against the REGENTS in *Kent* and *Hereford*.
1068. (a) CONQUEST OF EXETER AND THE WEST. Building of *Exeter Castle*.
 (b) CORONATION OF QUEEN MATILDA.
 (c) FIRST RISING OF THE NORTH under *Edwin and Morkere*. William's MARCH ON YORK. Building or strengthening of castles at *Warwick, Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge*.
 (d) HAROLD'S SONS repulsed from the North-West.
- 1069-1070. (a) SECOND RISING OF THE NORTH under *Edgar Ætheling*. Capture of *York*. William's SECOND MARCH ON YORK.
 (b) FINAL RISING OF THE WEST AND NORTH in alliance with *Harold's Sons, the Welsh and the Danes*. William's GREAT NORTHERN MARCH. HARRYING OF THE NORTH. William's WINTER MARCH ON CHESTER. Building of castles at *Chester and Stafford*.
- 1070-1072. Formation and capture of HEREWARD'S 'CAMP OF REFUGE' in the Isle of Ely. Submission of MALCOLM, KING OF SCOTS.

(2) The SETTLEMENT OF THE KINGDOM involved the REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH, the MAINTENANCE OF ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS, the SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT OF THE EARLS in 1075, the DOMESDAY SURVEY of 1085, and the OATH OF SALISBURY of 1086, which bound all landholders by a direct oath of homage to the sovereign.

(3) The SETTLEMENT OF THE DUCHY was effected by the suppression in 1078 of the rebellion of ROBERT, the Conqueror's son, by the imprisonment in 1082 of ODO OF BAYEUX, and by the subjugation of the COUNTY OF MAINE.

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS), 1087-1100.

William II., after winning the kingdom and the duchy, carried on his father's internal policy of suppression of the great nobles, and his external policy of consolidation in England and expansion on the Continent. But he departed from the Conqueror's traditions in alienating the Church.

(1) 1087-1088. THE WINNING OF THE KINGDOM.—The Conqueror on his death-bed desired that, of his three sons, ROBERT should have Normandy and WILLIAM England, while to HENRY he left a sum of money.

William was crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Lanfranc in September, 1087. In 1088, with the help of the English, he put down a formidable rising of the great nobles on behalf of Robert.

(2) 1090-1096. THE WINNING OF THE DUCHY.—War with Normandy was declared in 1090. In 1091, by the TREATY OF CAEN, William gained a portion of the duchy, and kept England, while Robert retained the remainder of his dominions. War was renewed in 1094, but in

1096 Robert went on Crusade, and pledged Normandy to William for 10,000 marks (*a mark* = 13s. 4d.).

(3) CONTINENTAL EXPANSION.—The winning of Normandy involved William in wars with FRANCE (1097-1098) and MAINE (1098-1099).

(4) CONSOLIDATION OF THE KINGDOM.—Malcolm, King of Scots, invaded England in 1091, but was repulsed and forced to do homage to William. In 1093 he invaded Northumberland, and was slain at Alnwick.

Against the WELSH William waged three unsuccessful wars.

(5) QUARREL WITH ANSELM.—On Lanfranc's death, in 1089, the See of Canterbury was vacant till 1093, when William nominated Anselm. The quarrel which followed between king and primate resulted, in 1097, in Anselm's withdrawal from England.

(6) SUPPRESSION OF THE FEUDATORIES.—The nobles rose in 1095, under ROBERT MOWBRAY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, and WILLIAM COUNT OF EU, with the object of putting STEPHEN OF AUMÂLE, the Conqueror's nephew, on the English throne. William took Mowbray's strongholds—Newcastle, Tynemouth, and Bamborough—and captured and imprisoned Mowbray himself. William of Eu was accused of treason, defeated in a *trial by battle*, and blinded. Other nobles suffered imprisonment, banishment, or mutilation.

(7) CHARACTER OF THE REIGN.—The reign of William II. was a period of suffering for England. With the aid of his minister, RALPH FLAMBARD, the king exacted oppressive feudal dues and heavy reliefs, and abused the privileges of 'wardship,' 'marriage,' and forest rights. He left bishoprics and abbacies vacant, and took their revenues. His death by an arrow in the New Forest in 1100 may have been an accident, but it has never been explained, and there was reason enough to rid the world of the tyrant who was 'hateful to his people and to God.'

HENRY I. (BEAUCLERC), 1100-1135.

Married (1) Edith, or Matilda, of Scotland. (2) Adela of Louvain.

The reign of HENRY I. saw THREE STRUGGLES: (1) For the ENGLISH CROWN; (2) for the NORMAN DUCHY; (3) for the SUCCESSION of his daughter.

(1) 1100-1102. THE STRUGGLE FOR ENGLAND.—When Rufus died, Henry hastened to Winchester, seized the 'hoard,' or royal treasure, and was chosen king by 'the Witan who were nigh at hand.' Two days later he was crowned at Westminster. But by the *Treaty of Caen* Robert should have succeeded the childless William, and his claim had many supporters. The weakness of Henry's title led him to court the alliance of the CHURCH and of the ENGLISH PEOPLE. Ralph Flambard was imprisoned, and a *Charter of Liberties* was issued, renouncing the exactions and oppressions of the last reign, and restoring the laws of Edward the Confessor, as amended by the Conqueror. Henry also married a wife of the Old-English stock—EDITH, or Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm of Scotland, and of Margaret, sister of Edgar Ætheling.

ROBERT'S INVASION OF ENGLAND in 1101 ended in a peaceful compromise, and when, in 1102, Henry's deliberate suppression of the dis-

affected nobles was crowned by the BANISHMENT OF ROBERT OF BELESME, he might count himself King of England indeed.

(2) 1102-1120. THE STRUGGLE FOR NORMANDY.—The next five years were occupied with the INVESTITURE QUARREL with Anselm, closed by the compromise of Westminster in 1107, and with the STRUGGLE FOR THE DUCHY OF NORMANDY, ended in 1106 by the Battle of TENCHEBRAI and the imprisonment of DUKE ROBERT, followed in 1112 by the capture of ROBERT OF BELESME.

Henry was now a great Continental prince, with dangerous and ambitious neighbours in the KING OF FRANCE and the COUNT OF ANJOU, and for some years his chief attention was turned to foreign politics.

LOUIS VI. of France, who succeeded his father, Philip I., in 1108, was bent on increasing the royal power, and the question of the BOUNDARY between France and Normandy was a constant source of irritation. The COUNT OF ANJOU, also, had married the heiress of MAINE, and Henry saw his authority in that quarter threatened, while WILLIAM 'CLITO' (*the Ætheling*), son of Duke Robert, formed a centre for rebellion and conspiracy.

Henry had already betrothed his daughter MATILDA to HENRY V., King of Germany, and afterwards Emperor. He now induced Count FULK of Anjou to do homage for MAINE, and betrothed his son and heir, the ÆTHELING WILLIAM, to Fulk's daughter.

A FRESH QUARREL with FRANCE and ANJOU in 1116 was ended in 1119 by the defeat of the French at BRÉMULE, and by the marriage of the ÆTHELING WILLIAM to MATILDA OF ANJOU.

But in 1120 Henry's only son WILLIAM was drowned in the wreck of the 'WHITE SHIP.'

(3) 1120-1135. THE SUCCESSION QUESTION.—For the remaining fifteen years of his life Henry was engaged in trying to secure the succession to the English throne for his immediate descendants. He married, as his second wife, ADELA, daughter of the Count of Louvain. When no more sons were born to him, he devoted himself to the interests of his daughter MATILDA. FULK OF ANJOU supported William 'Clito,' to whom he married his daughter Sybil, but Henry persuaded the Pope to dissolve the marriage; and after the Emperor's death, in 1125, he won over Anjou by marrying the widowed Empress to Fulk's son and heir, GEOFFREY, while in 1128 WILLIAM CLITO was killed in Flanders.

The nobles of England and Normandy did HOMAGE to MATILDA as her father's successor, and when in 1133 she gave birth to a son, the future Henry II., the old king of England might hope that his ambition was realized and his dynasty firmly established.

STEPHEN, 1135-1154.

Married Matilda of Boulogne.

On the death of Henry I. his nephew STEPHEN OF BLOIS was accepted as King of England by the Londoners, and crowned at Westminster. STEPHEN, COUNT OF MORTAIN AND BOULOGNE, was the younger son of STEPHEN, COUNT OF BLOIS, and ADELA, daughter of William the Conqueror. He had no hereditary claim to the Crown,

and he in common with the other English and Norman nobles, was pledged to Matilda. But Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou were unpopular, a woman's rule was unwelcome, and Stephen, brave, lavish, and easy-going, was the ideal king of the barons, who 'weened that he should be even as his uncle,' Robert of Normandy.

Stephen, then, was hampered by a *weak title, a powerful rival, and a weight of obligation* to his supporters. Yet at first all went well. He issued two CHARTERS, made concessions to the CHURCH, and won over DAVID, KING OF SCOTS, the uncle of the Empress (*Table III.*), by ceding to him the Castle of Carlisle, and conferring the Earldom of Huntingdon, which the Scottish kings claimed through their descent from Waltheof (*Table III.*), on David's son HENRY. The POPE confirmed Stephen in the kingdom, and he even received homage from Matilda's half-brother, ROBERT, EARL OF GLOUCESTER, while in 1136 the KING OF FRANCE accepted his homage for the Duchy of Normandy.

But 'in this king's time was all strife, and evil, and plunder, for against him soon rose up the rich men who were traitors.' In 1136 there were risings in *Norfolk* and in *Devonshire*, where Baldwin of Redvers held *Exeter Castle* for the Empress, and disturbances in *Wales*. In 1138 the KING OF SCOTS invaded England, but was defeated near Northallerton in the BATTLE OF THE STANDARD by the Northern gentry and the Yorkshire 'fyrd,' led by the parish priests, and rallying round a waggon on which were placed the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon. ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER now renounced his allegiance to Stephen, and his fortress of BRISTOL became the centre of Matilda's party in England, while GEOFFREY OF ANJOU maintained her claims in Normandy.

In 1139 Stephen, in spite of his recent victory, ceded *Northumberland* to DAVID OF SCOTLAND, but his prospects were fairly hopeful, when he ruined his own cause by an act of strange folly. Jealous of the power of ROGER, BISHOP OF SALISBURY, the JUSTICIAR, his son ROGER, the CHANCELLOR, and his nephews, NIGEL, BISHOP OF ELY, the TREASURER, and ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, he demanded the keys of their castles, and when they refused, cast the two Rogers and the Bishop of Lincoln into prison. This alienated the whole Church party, including THEOBALD, Archbishop of CANTERBURY, and Stephen's brother, HENRY, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. MATILDA landed in England, and CIVIL WAR began in earnest.

England was now plunged into utter ANARCHY. The king was weak; the law languished, and the feudatories 'filled the land full of castles, and . . . filled them with devils and evil men.' They usurped the royal rights of justice and coining; they burnt and tortured till men said that 'Christ slept and His saints.'

In 1141 Robert of Gloucester took Stephen prisoner in the BATTLE OF LINCOLN, and Henry of Winchester, now Papal Legate, declared before the assembled clergy in a Synod at Winchester that Matilda was the elected 'LADY OF ENGLAND AND NORMANDY.'

But Matilda soon alienated the LONDONERS by her arrogance, and was driven out of the city. HENRY OF WINCHESTER also changed sides, and the king's forces captured Robert of Gloucester and exchanged him for Stephen.

In 1142 Stephen took OXFORD. For five more years the tide of war

surged through England, till in 1147 ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER died, and Matilda retired to Normandy.

Meanwhile, GEOFFREY OF ANJOU subdued NORMANDY, and his son HENRY was acknowledged as Duke in 1151.

In 1153 HENRY renewed the struggle for the Crown in England, but Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry, Bishop of Winchester, intervened, and after the death of Stephen's son Eustace, Henry was recognised as heir to the throne by the TREATY OF WALLINGFORD. In 1154 STEPHEN DIED.

PLANTAGENET PERIOD.

KINGS OF FRANCE

Louis VII., 1137-1180.

Philip II. (Augustus), 1180

Louis VIII., 1223.

Louis IX. (St. Louis), 1226.

Philip III., 1270.

Philip IV., 1285-1314.

HENRY II., 1154-1189.

Married Eleanor of Aquitaine.

THE reign of HENRY II. includes: (1) A period of DESTRUCTIVE WORK; (2) a period of CONSTRUCTIVE WORK; (3) a STRUGGLE with the CHURCH; (4) a STRUGGLE with the FEUDATORIES; (5) a STRUGGLE with his SONS and the KING OF FRANCE.

(1) Henry's DESTRUCTIVE WORK involved carrying out the TREATY OF WALLINGFORD, destroying the unlicensed castles, banishing the foreign mercenaries, and recovering usurped royal rights.

(2) His reforms in the CHURCH COURTS brought him into collision with THOMAS BECKET, Archbishop of Canterbury, and led to the issue, in 1164, of the CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON, whereby the *ecclesiastical jurisdiction* was regulated.

In 1166 he reformed the POLICE SYSTEM, and instituted the GRAND JURY, or JURY OF PRESENTMENT, by the ASSIZE OF CLARENDON, amplified in 1176 by the ASSIZE OF NORTHAMPTON. He also introduced the JURY OF TRIAL in civil cases by (a) the GRAND ASSIZE, for cases of *ownership* of freehold land; (b) the ASSIZE OF NOVEL DISSEISIN, for cases of *dispossession* from freehold land; (c) the ASSIZE OF MORT D'ANCESTOR, for cases of *succession* to freehold land.

In 1170, by the INQUEST OF SHERIFFS, he reformed *local administration*.

The KING'S COURT (*Curia Regis*) was also reorganized.

The MILITARY SYSTEM was reformed by the ASSIZE OF ARMS (1181). Money to hire mercenary troops was raised by taking SCUTAGE, or 'shield-money' (*Latin: scutum, a shield*), from the feudatories in place of personal military service.

The FOREST SYSTEM was regulated by the ASSIZE OF WOODSTOCK (1184).

A new departure was made in the FINANCIAL SYSTEM by the taxation of personal property in the SALADIN TITHE (1188).

(3) The QUARREL with BECKET resulted, in 1170, in the MURDER of the Archbishop.

(4) In 1173-1174 the English and Norman FEUDATORIES revolted, under the king's sons, in alliance with France and Scotland. The KING OF SCOTS was taken prisoner, and was forced by the TREATY OF FALAISE to acknowledge the English king as his feudal overlord.

(5) In 1183 a fresh rising of the KING'S SONS on the Continent was checked by the deaths of the 'young king' Henry (1183) and of Geoffrey of Brittany (1185). The last years of Henry's life were spent in struggling against the intrigues of PHILIP AUGUSTUS, King of France, who stirred up the English king's remaining sons, Richard and John, to rebel against their father.

RICHARD I. (CŒUR DE LION), 1189-1199.

Married Berengaria of Navarre.

When Henry II. died, Richard was invested with the Norman duchy and crowned King of England.

To obtain money for the CRUSADE he released the King of Scots from the TREATY OF FALAISE, and sold offices and places of trust.

He appointed HUGH DE PUISET, Bishop of Durham, and WILLIAM LONGCHAMP, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, to govern the kingdom in his absence; but when they quarrelled, he made LONGCHAMP sole JUSTICIAR.

LONGCHAMP'S pride and ambition offended the baronage, who found a leader in the king's brother JOHN. In 1191 LONGCHAMP was deposed in a Council of bishops, barons, and London citizens, and WALTER OF COUTANCES, Archbishop of Rouen, became JUSTICIAR.

When Richard was taken prisoner by the DUKE of AUSTRIA, JOHN claimed the English crown, while PHILIP of France invaded Normandy. But the English ministers and the bulk of the baronage were faithful, and Walter of Coutances raised Richard's ransom before he resigned the justiciarship to HUBERT WALTER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

From 1194 to 1198 HUBERT WALTER ruled England, carrying out the policy of Henry II. In 1198 he was succeeded as JUSTICIAR by GEOFFREY FITZ-PETER.

In 1194 RICHARD, released from captivity, paid his *second visit* to England. He was recrowned, and then left England for his Continental dominions, where, in 1199, he died.

The reign of Richard I. was marked by cruel massacres of the English Jews, who, as the great *money-lenders* of the period, were hateful to the upper classes, from whom they took heavy rates of interest, and to the people, who distrusted them as men of alien race and customs. This feeling increased in bitterness, till in 1290 EDWARD I. expelled all Jews from England.

JOHN (LACKLAND), 1199-1216.

Married (1) **Hawisa of Gloucester.** (2) **Isabella of Angoulême.**

At John's Coronation Archbishop Hubert Walter is said to have declared that the right to reign was conferred on the king by ELECTION, an assertion of old principles perhaps due to the HEREDITARY claim to the Crown put forward by ARTHUR OF BRITTANY.

Between 1200 and 1204 PHILIP OF FRANCE CONQUERED NORMANDY, MAINE, ANJOU, and TOURAINE.

In 1200 John alienated the Continental and English baronage by *divorcing Hawisa of Gloucester and marrying Isabella of Angoulême.*

In 1202, John, having refused to appear before the French king's Court, his Continental fiefs were declared forfeited, and *Philip invaded Normandy.*

In 1203 *Arthur of Brittany*, who had been taken prisoner by John, was *murdered.*

In 1204 John's mother, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, died, the French took *Château-Gaillard*, and the Norman and Angevin inheritance was lost.

In 1205 Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and John became involved in a QUARREL with the POPE and the CHURCH over the appointment of his successor. England was placed under an *interdict* in 1208, but the king submitted in 1213, *surrendered his kingdom to the Pope*, and accepted the Papal nominee, *Stephen Langton*, as archbishop.

In 1213, on the death of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the king's QUARREL with the BARONAGE came to a head.

In 1214 the defeat of John's allies at BOUVINES deprived him of Continental support, and in 1215 he was forced to sign MAGNA CARTA, or the GREAT CHARTER. John accepted the Charter only to reject it. The baronage offered the English Crown to LOUIS, son of Philip of France. He landed in May, 1216, and CIVIL WAR began, but in October JOHN died at NEWARK.

HENRY III., 1216-1272.

Married **Eleanor of Provence.**

During the MINORITY of HENRY III. England was governed by two able ministers in succession WILLIAM THE MARSHAL and HUBERT DE BURGH.

WILLIAM THE MARSHAL, with GUALO, the Papal Legate, and PETER DES ROCHES, Bishop of Winchester, made peace with LOUIS OF FRANCE in the TREATY OF LAMBETH, after the French had been defeated in the Battles of LINCOLN and DOVER.

In 1219 WILLIAM THE MARSHAL died, and the government of the kingdom fell to the Justiciar, HUBERT DE BURGH. But in 1227 Henry declared himself of age, and took PETER DES ROCHES as his chief adviser. HUBERT DE BURGH was disgraced in 1232. In 1233 the baronage, under RICHARD MARSHAL, rose against the foreign party, and though Richard Marshal was betrayed to his death in Ireland,

EDMUND RICH, Archbishop of Canterbury, brought about the dismissal of PETER DES ROCHES.

The king's MARRIAGE to ELEANOR OF PROVENCE in 1236 introduced a fresh swarm of foreigners. In 1238 Henry's brother, RICHARD, EARL OF CORNWALL, headed a baronial rising against SIMON DE MONTFORT, EARL OF LEICESTER, who had married the king's sister, Eleanor, Countess of Pembroke.

In 1244 the leadership of the national party fell to ROBERT GROSSETESTE, Bishop of Lincoln. The two main *grievances* were the king's *fondness for foreigners* and his *constant demands for money*. The *remedy* which the national party sought was a ministry elected by the baronage, and responsible for the expenditure of the public money.

The king's acceptance of the CROWN OF SICILY for his second son, EDMUND, led to the MAD PARLIAMENT of 1258, and the issue in the PROVISIONS OF OXFORD and the PETITION OF THE BARONS of a new *scheme of government* and a *list of grievances*, repeated with some alterations in 1259, in the PROVISIONS OF WESTMINSTER.

The disunion of the baronial party and the quarrel between the EARLS OF GLOUCESTER and LEICESTER gave Henry an opportunity of evading the promises he had made in 1258, and in 1263, after GLOUCESTER'S DEATH, SIMON DE MONTFORT placed himself at the head of the opposition, and CIVIL WAR broke out. In 1264 LOUIS IX., King of France, annulled the Provisions of Oxford in the MISE OF AMIENS, but this decision only increased the discontent in England, and in 1265 the national party under Simon de Montfort defeated the royalists in the BATTLE OF LEWES.

The EARL OF LEICESTER, now practically supreme, summoned a *representative Parliament* in 1265, in which both knights of the shire and burgesses were present, and drew up a *new scheme of government*. But a few months later he was defeated and slain at EVESHAM.

In 1267 De Montfort's followers accepted terms in the DICTUM DE KENILWORTH, peace was made with the Welsh in the TREATY OF SHREWSBURY, and the Provisions of Oxford and Westminster were re-enacted in the STATUTE OF MARLBOROUGH. In 1272 HENRY III. died.

EDWARD I. (LONGSHANKS), 1272-1307.

Married (1) Eleanor of Castile. (2) Margaret of France.

EDWARD I. was proclaimed king on Henry III.'s death, and crowned on his return from Syria in 1274. He was the first English king whose reign began before his coronation.

He was the CONQUEROR OF WALES, the COMPLETER OF THE WORK OF HENRY II., and the 'HAMMER OF THE SCOTS.'

The WELSH REVOLTED in 1277, but Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, accepted the TREATY OF CONWAY. In 1282 a fresh REVOLT resulted in Llywelyn's death and the execution of his brother David. In 1284 the STATUTE OF WALES annexed the 'Principality' to England, and organized its government.

EDWARD I. COMPLETED THE WORK OF HENRY II. by checking the political and social power of the feudatories in their *manors*, in their *justice-courts*, and in the 'Common Council,' or *Parliament*, and by *reform-*

ing and reorganizing the central and local administration in Church and State by a series of famous *Statutes*.

1275. The FIRST STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER,

1279. The STATUTE OF MORTMAIN.

1285. The STATUTE OF MERCHANTS, the STATUTE OF WINCHESTER, and the SECOND STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER (*De Donis Conditionalibus*).

1290. The THIRD STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER (*Quia Emptores*) and the STATUTE OF QUO WARRANTO.

In 1295 the MODEL PARLIAMENT combined the chief features of the English Parliament in its completed form, the *representation* of the *Three Estates*—Clergy, Lords, and Commons—their meeting to *grant taxes* in *one place* and at *one time*, and the *election* of the representatives of the Commons in the shire-court.

The Church, meanwhile, developed a separate representative tax-granting assembly—the two HOUSES OF CONVOCATION, one for the province of York, and one for the province of Canterbury.

The burden of taxation also united clergy and baronage in opposition to the king's arbitrary levies of money, and led to the CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTERS in 1297.

The STRUGGLE WITH SCOTLAND lasted till the close of the reign, and included:

(1) The DECISION OF THE SUCCESSION QUESTION in favour of John Balliol in 1292.

(2) The RISING in 1295, in alliance with France, and the DEPOSITION of Balliol.

(3) The RISING OF WILLIAM WALLACE in 1297; the *defeat* of the English at CAMBUSKENNETH BRIDGE, or Stirling Bridge, and their *victory* at FALKIRK in 1298, followed by WALLACE'S capture and death in 1304.

(4) The issue of the ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND

(5) The RISING OF ROBERT BRUCE in 1306.

CONDITION OF ENGLAND, 1066 to 1307.

The CENTRAL GOVERNMENT of England after the Conquest was carried on by the old WITAN in the new form of a FEUDAL COUNCIL, or assembly of tenants-in-chief of the Crown, under a practically absolute king. By the end of the thirteenth century the Feudal Council had developed into a representative Parliament.

The MINISTERS—Justiciar, Chancellor, Treasurer, Constable and Marshal—grew in importance. Henry I. appointed 'new men' of lowly birth to these offices, as a check on the nobles; Henry II. developed the machinery of administration; the absence of Richard I. taught the ministers independence; under John the feudal barons became constitutional leaders; the minority of Henry III. and his later extortions made them realize their responsibilities, and raised up a national opposition; by the end of the thirteenth century the responsibility of ministers to the nation in the National Assembly had become possible.

In LOCAL GOVERNMENT the old Courts were retained and developed. The ealdorman ceased to sit in the shire-court; the sheriff's power was checked by the itinerant justices, but new financial and judicial work

fell to the local courts under Henry II., and in the thirteenth century the sheriff and shire-court acquired political functions in connection with Parliamentary elections.

TRIAL by BATTLE came in with the Normans, but TRIAL by JURY gradually superseded older methods, first in civil cases and afterwards in criminal cases.

The DEGRADATION of FREEMEN into VILLEINS was hastened by the Conquest, and independent villages everywhere gave place to MANORS under lords. But the English TOWNS flourished, and won royal charters.

The REFORM in the CHURCH found expression in a great development of MONASTICISM. The CLUNIAN impulse, which had stirred men's hearts in the eleventh century, had died out, and given place to a fresh reform, which came from the Burgundian Abbey of CITEAUX, where the CISTERCIAN ORDER was founded in the twelfth century, mainly through the efforts of an Englishman, STEPHEN HARDING. Out of Citeaux came forth St. BERNARD, the preacher of the Second Crusade, and the Order spread rapidly and became very popular. The CISTERCIANS, or White Monks, were, like the Cluniacs, a reformed branch of the Benedictine Order. They practised extreme self-denial, and built simple churches, without stained glass or elaborate carving, and with silver instead of gold vessels for the Holy Table. Their dress was of white wool, woven from the fleeces of their own flocks, for they were *sheep farmers*, and by the thirteenth century had become the chief wool-growers of England, and very rich and worldly. They were *tillers of the soil*, too, and, settling in wild, remote places, such as Fountains Abbey, Furness Abbey, or Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, they reclaimed the waste lands and made the wilderness to blossom as the rose.

Other Monastic Orders which found a home in England were the CARTHUSIANS, a branch of the Benedictines; the English Order of SEMPRINGHAM, or the GILBERTINES, founded in Stephen's reign by Gilbert of Sempringham, for both men and women; the two great MILITARY ORDERS of the TEMPLARS and the HOSPITALLERS, monk-knights, instituted in connection with the Crusades for the care and defence of the Holy Land; and, in the thirteenth century, the FRIARS.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

TABLE I. KINGS OF ENGLAND BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

I. The House of Cerdic.

Egbert, 802-839.

Ethelwulf, 839-857.

Ethelbald,
857-860.

Ethelbert,
860-866.

Ethelred I.,
866-871.

Alfred,
871-889 or 900 [901 ?].

Edward I., the Elder, 889 or 900 [901 ?]-924 or 925.

Athelstan, 924 or 925-940.

Edmund I., 940-946.

Edred, 946-955.

Edwy, 955-959.

Edgar, 959-975.

Edward II., the Martyr,
975-978.

Ethelred II., the Unready,
978-1016.

Edmund II, Ironside, 1016.

Edward III., the Confessor,
1042-1066.

II. The Danish Dynasty.

Sweyn, died 1014.

Cnut, 1016-1035.

Estrith=Earl Ulf.

Harold Harefoot,
1035-1040.

Harthacnut,
1040-1042.

Sweyn Estrithson.

Beorn.

III. The House of Godwine.

Godwine= Gytha (sister of Earl Ulf).

Edith=Edward
the Confessor.

Sweyn.

HAROLD,
King of
England,
Jan.-Oct., 1066.

Tostig.

Gyrth.

Leof-
wine.

Wulf-
noth.

TABLE II.—KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM 1066 to 1307

[= married ; + died.]

WILLIAM I. = Matilda of Flanders 1066-1087. (descended from Alfred).			
Robert, Duke of Normandy, + 1135.	WILLIAM II., 1087-1100.	HENRY I., = (1) Matilda of Scotland. 1100-1135. (2) Adela of Louvain.	Adela = Stephen, Count of Blois.
William 'Clito,' + 1128.	William + 1120. •	MATILDA = (1) Henry V., Emperor. + 1167. (2) Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou.	STEPHEN, = Matilda of 1135-1154. Boulogne
Henry, = Margaret of France. + 1183.	Matilda = Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony.	HENRY II., = Eleanor of Aquitaine. 1154-1189.	Geoffrey, + 1158.
JOHN, = (1) Hawisa of Gloucester. 1199-1216. (2) Isabella of Angoulême (afterwards m. Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche).	Eleanor = Alfonso IX., of Castile.	RICHARD I., = Berengaria 1189-1199. of Navarre.	Geoffrey, = Constance + 1185. of Brittany. Arthur, + 1203.
Joanna = Alex- ander II., King of Scots.	HENRY III., = Eleanor 1216-1272. of Pro- vence.	Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans.	Joanna = (1) William II., King of Sicily. (2) Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse.
EDWARD I., = (1) Eleanor of Castile. 1272-1307. (2) Margaret of France. EDWARD II.	Margaret = Alexander III., King of Scots.	Eleanor = (1) Isabel Marshal. (2) Sancia of Pro- vence.	Isabella = Frederick II., Emperor.
		Edmund of Sicily, Earl of Lancaster.	

TABLE III.—KINGS OF SCOTLAND.

DUNCAN I., + 1040.

MALCOLM CANMORE, = Margaret, sister of
1057-1093. | Edgar Ætheling.

Edward, EDGAR, ALEXAN- Matilda = Henry I. Mary = Eustace, DAVID = Maud, daugh- DUNCAN II.,
+ 1093. 1098-1107. DER I., of Eng- Count of 1124- ter of Earl + 1095.
1107-1124. land. Boulogne. 1153. Waltheof.

Matilda = Stephen, Henry,
King of + 1152.
England.

MALCOLM IV., WILLIAM THE LION,
1153-1165. 1165-1214.

David, Earl of Huntingdon.

ALEXANDER II., = (1) Joanna, daugh-
1214-1249. ter of John of England.

(2) Mary de Couci.

Margaret = Alan, Lord Isabella = Robert
of Galloway. Bruce,

Ada = Henry
Hastings.

Devorguilla = John Balliol. Lord of Annandale.

Henry.

ALEXANDER III., = Margaret, daugh-
1249-1286. ter of Henry III.
of England.

Robert.

John.

JOHN, Margaret = John
1292-1296. Comyn. Robert, + 1303.

Margaret, = Eric of
+ 1283. | Norway.

ROBERT I.,
1306-1329

MARGARET, THE MAID OF NORWAY, + 1290.

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